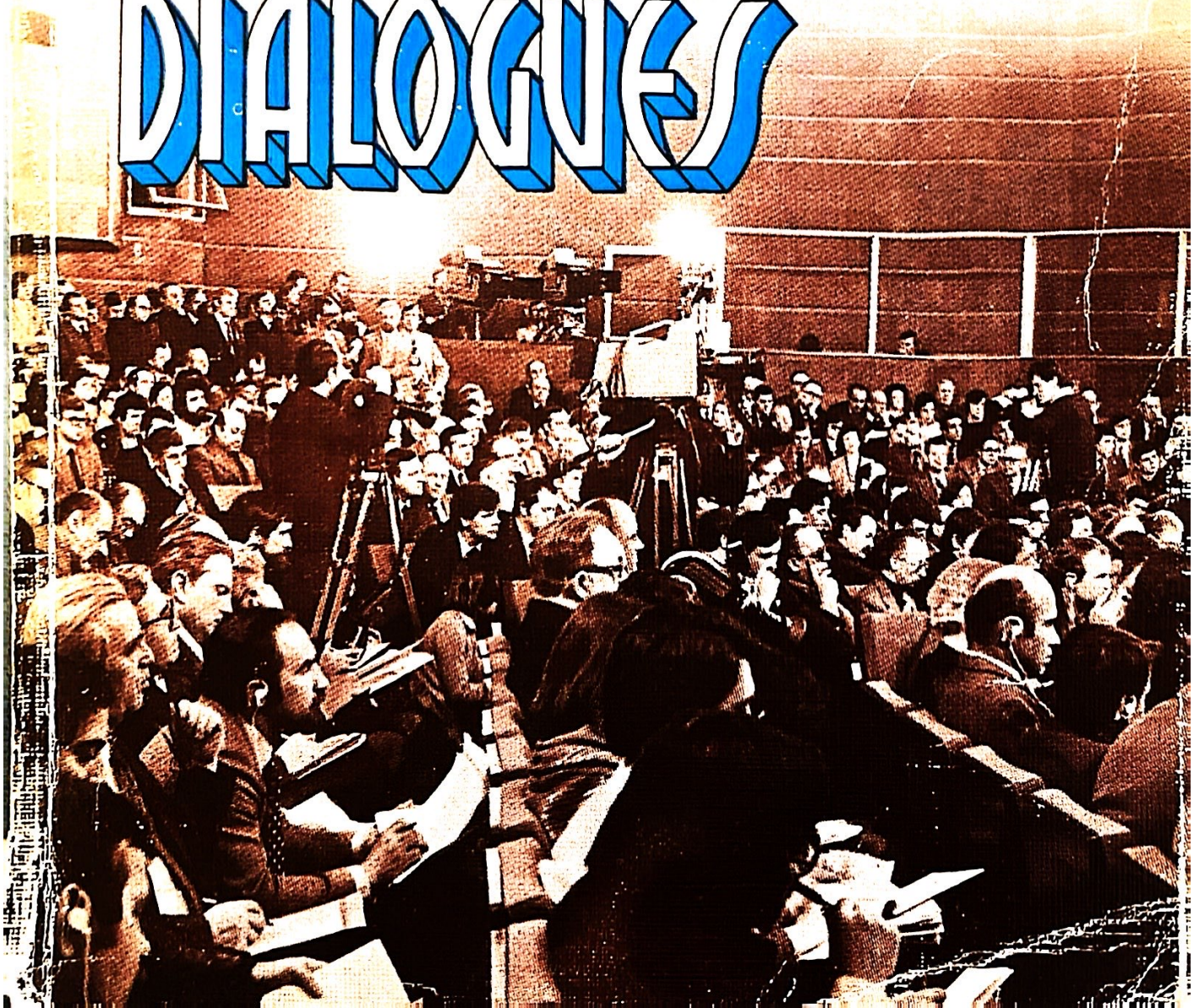
XXVI CPSU CONGRESS: PRESS CENTRE DIALOGUES



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"Not war preparations that doom the peoples to a senseless squandering of their material and spiritual wealth, but consolidation of peace—that is the clue to the future."

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet

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TO THE READER

Great events are beyond the measure of time. They cannot be gauged by the hour or calendar. The meaning of each such day is too significant and too momentous for conventional units of time to reflect it.

The days in February and March 1981 were of this kind when the 26th Congress of Soviet Communists took place in the Moscow Kremlin Palace of Congresses. They embodied the experience of decades. Their importance for both the Soviet Union and the whole world will be felt for many more years to come.

The attitudes of people in other countries to the main forum of the Soviet Communists were not uniform—they varied from the happy feeling of being a witness to the achievements of the Soviet Union to attempts to cast doubt on our plans. But they had one thing in common—an enormous interest in the historic decisions being made in those days in Moscow.

Many Western journalists came to the Congress with feelings of anxiety. The adherents of peace were afraid that the forecasts of Western Sovietologists, that the Soviet Union is virtually at the point of giving up the idea of detente, would prove to be right. Alarm of a different kind was experienced by those professional haters of Soviet life, who regard every reduction of international tension as a threat to their own jobs, because the only vocabulary they know is that of the cold war.

But whereas these latter were confused and understandably irritated by Moscow's latest peace offensive, most sober-minded people in the world welcomed the calm and constructive tone in the CPSU Central Committee's Report made by General Secretary of the

CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev, and regarded his proposals as the only sensible way along which the world should develop. This is the way of deepening detente, curbing the arms race, promoting dialogues at all levels, including summit level, instead of seeking confrontation, the way of easing tension in explosive areas instead of creating new ones.

It is generally acknowledged that no other Congress of our Party received so much international coverage and attention as this latest one, the 26th Congress.

The reason is quite clear: the prestige of the Soviet state keeps mounting steadily from year to year. A great deal in the world depends on the policy the Soviet Union pursues, while it is on our relations with other countries, and especially with those like the United States, that the question most decisively depends of whether there is to be peace on earth. The Congress, which shaped the policy of our Party and state for the ninth decade of the 20th century, a difficult and troubled decade, could not but evoke worldwide repercussions.

But another reason for this unprecedented international response is that the Press Centre of our Party Congress worked fully, smoothly and effectively as never before.

Indeed, every facility was provided for the newsmen, including direct telephone and telegraph connections with the major capitals of the world, connections with newspaper and magazine editorial offices, and various communications systems, *Sputnik* among them. It is difficult to imagine and estimate the amount of information transmitted from the Press Centre to other parts of the world, but here are some statistics: more than 1,000 TV and radio stories were transmitted to 80 countries: the

Soviet radio and television services broadcast daily TV diaries about the Congress for 29 countries, and lent assistance to 203 TV news representatives of 22 countries. Daily information about the Congress was passed on by radio and television to 2,000 million listeners and viewers.

It is not only a question of the technical facilities placed at the disposal of journalists. The main source of information was the press conferences and briefings held several times a day at the Press Centre.

These were conducted by Leonid Zamyatin, Member of the CPSU Central Committee, head of the Central Committee's International Information Department and a Lenin Prize winner (he was the director of the Press Centre); Vadim Zagladin, Member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy head of the Central Committee's International Department; and Vitali Ignatenko, deputy head of the Central Committee's International Information Department and a Lenin Prize winner.

There was a competent and detailed answer for every query from foreign newsmen. Most of them showed a friendly interest in the Congress, while a handful sought, or wished to invent, something that would misinform their readers and provide them with information hostile to the Soviet Union.

It must be said, however, that such questions were very few. The businesslike work of the Congress, and the serious thoughts expressed and the resolutions adopted there, and also the way this was all reflected by the Press Centre, rendered unworthy the few attempts to put provocative queries, and queries based on wild rumours and fabrications.

Said Leonid Zamyatin, Press Centre chief: "There have been no questions which we would have to 'escape', so to speak. We have given straight and honest answers to straight and honest questions. Our answers have not displeased anybody, as far as I know."

The Press Centre was crowded with journalists constantly, from early morning till late at night. Something was going on all the time: a briefing or a press conference, or a meeting of correspondents with Congress delegates representing various spheres of Soviet life, or guests from abroad.

For instance, they met the delegates of the Krasnoyarsk Territory—real Siberians. For many of them—factory workers and collective farm milkmaids—it was the first international press conference in their life, but every unbiassed person was impressed by their simplicity, openness, pride in their land, and the sincere way they spoke of their work and private life. Many of those newsmen, who had come to Moscow with the definite assignment of picking up "hot stuff", succumbed to their charm, sincerity, spontaneity, and confidence.

These foreign correspondents later told me about the trouble they were having at home with their editors, who demanded anti-Soviet stories, and nothing else. When such stories were unavailable, they acted like ostriches: they buried their heads in the sand, kept silent about the Congress, and pretended that it was non-existent. But this was equal to an attempt to ignore life itself.

Meeting Congress delegates and receiving answers to their queries from the executives of Soviet ministries and departments, research centres and industrial enterprises, the foreign correspondents obtained first-hand information about the life of our country.

Representatives of the Communist Parties of the Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Armenia, members of the Moscow delegation, and those of the Bashkir Autonomous Republic, Krasnoyarsk and Krasnodar Territories, builders of the Baikal-Amur railway, as well as leading Soviet authorities on economics, science and culture, met face to face with Soviet and foreign journalists at the Press Centre of the 26th CPSU Congress. For many of them this was like a discovery of "blank spots".

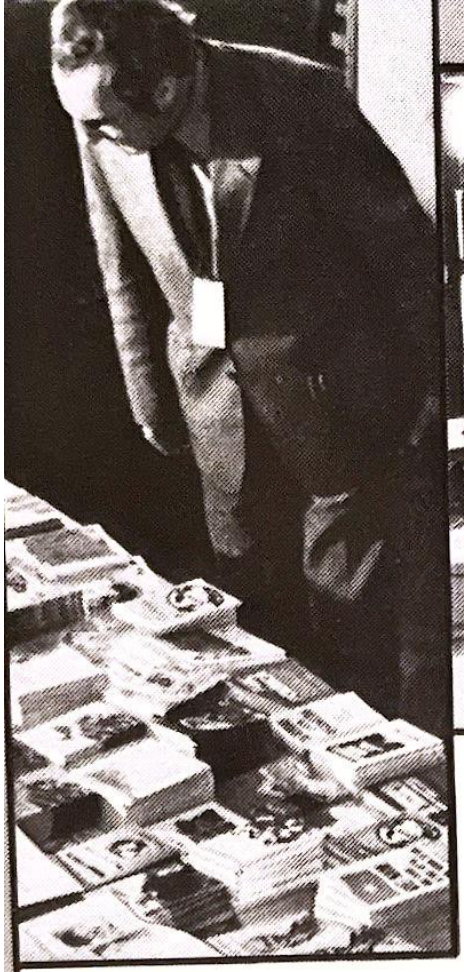
I believe that the possibility of meeting leaders of the delegations of Communist, Workers' and national democratic parties, attending the 26th CPSU Congress, was no less a revelation for some of the representatives of the Western press.

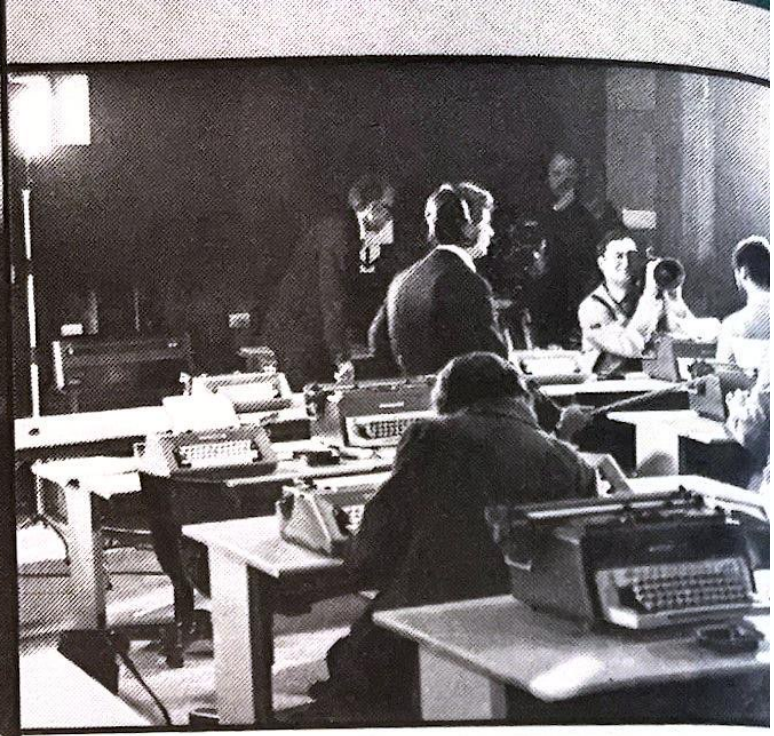
There were twelve such meetings, where answers to questions put by the press were given by party leaders from Argentina, Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Venezuela, Vietnam, Greece, Colombia, Nicaragua, Portugal, Syria, the United States, and West Germany.

There was, so to say, a mutual interest in these press conferences because, for many Western Communist and Workers' parties, cut off from the mass media, they were a unique possibility of conveying their views on international developments to members of the press of most countries of the world.

In a small book, devoted to the work of the 26th Congress Press Centre, it is difficult to embrace all the aspects of its work, but I believe that it gives some idea of that crystal which reflected worldwide interest in the history-making Soviet Communist Party Congress.

Ghenrikh BOROVIK, Soviet writer, USSR State Prize winner, APN special correspondent accredited to the 26th CPSU Congress Press Centre





From early morning till late at night the press centre was astir—briefing sessions, news conferences, interviews with Congress delegates and guests from abroad. Meeting with Soviet ministers, heads of research institutes and of industrial enterprises, foreign newsmen got first-hand information about life in the USSR.

THE SOVIET UNION: WHAT IT WAS, IS, AND WILL BE LIKE

"...Today, as we look back on the past years, we have every reason to say that a gigantic job has been accomplished. Our great country has become stronger, richer, and more beautiful."

(*Leonid Brezhnev,* Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress)

The destiny of each of the Soviet republics, together making up one federal multinational state, the USSR, is, just like anyone's destiny, stamped with inimitable individuality and reflects the general features of the times. The Russians, Ukrainians, Kazakhs, Armenians, Bashkirs, each of these and other Soviet peoples have a history and a language of their own, and the republics they live in have been following different paths in their economic and cultural development. Yet the vector indicating the major direction of their development during the sixty years of Soviet government points one way—from decay to upsurge, from withering to flourishing, from backwardness to the peaks of progress.

The Soviet Union has an area of 22.4 million sq.km. and a population of 266.6 million, speaking 130 languages and using five alphabets in their written languages.
The USSR is composed of 15 constituent republics with equal rights: the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Georgian, Azerbaijan, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Latvian, Kirghiz, Tajik, Armenian, Turkmen and Estonian Republics. These incorporate 20 autonomous republics, 8 autonomous regions and 10 autonomous areas.
The capital of the USSR is Moscow.

Moscow and Its People

The interest aroused by the meeting at the Press Centre with the 26th CPSU Congress delegates representing the Communists of Moscow (they came from the Bauman District—one of 32 in the capital) was easy to understand. For Moscow is not just the administrative centre of the USSR. This city, with its skyline showing the towers of the ancient Kremlin as well as the monument to the conquerors of space, is the nation's pace-setter. And it is a mirror of all national life today.

The capital has the greatest concentration of the country's intellectual potential. Moscow laboratories restore the mural paintings of Andrei Rublev, a master artist of the Middle Ages, and produce up-to-date laser technologies. This city is the home of the USSR Academy of Sciences, hundreds of research establishments and designing offices, as well as of the country's largest libraries and publishing houses, museums, theatres, concert halls and institutions of higher learning. Today the Soviet capital offers the clearest glimpse of the days to come, of the way the country will look like by the end of this millennium.

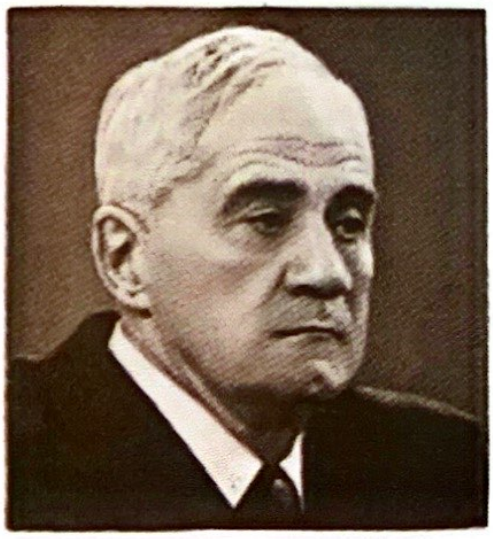
Moscow is also a major industrial centre in the USSR: 1,500-odd mechanised flowlines and transfer lines were put into operation here in the last, 10th Five-Year Plan period alone (1976-1980), more than 700 production units were mechanised and automated, and 35,000 units of up-to-date high-efficiency equipment installed. In the eighties the rates of innovation will be still higher. The absolute majority of the city's 1,200 industrial enterprises are being modernized. Their output on a single working day is, for instance, 913 motor vehicles, 829 electric motors, 2,082 million sq.m. of fabrics, 36,000 clocks and watches, 3,000 radio and TV sets, and nearly 1,300,000 roubles' worth of calculating machines and computer equipment.

The accounts of the press conferences are based on reporters' notes.

Under the 10th Five-Year Plan Moscow built over 400,000 flats. In 1980 it was the host city of the Olympic Games. By the time they were held, the city had put up 74 sports buildings in addition to those already available. Many of them are unique in Europe and some have no equal in the whole world. The construction of the Olympic Village served to expand the capital's housing as well. It has since been turned over to the public and thousands of people have moved into apartments with all amenities.

This is important because the housing problem is still considered to be a pressing one. Yet so high a rate of "flowline" home-building warrants the hope that its final solution is near. Already today 80 per cent of the people of Moscow live in self-contained flats. The Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990, adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress, planned the high rate of housing construction to be maintained. The target of the eighties is to provide every family with a flat of its own.

In the 10th Five-Year Plan period 100 new schools appeared in Moscow. All told, there are more than a thousand of them now, accommodating close on 760,000 schoolchildren. The Moscow institutions of higher learning have a total student body of over 600,000. As he told this to the journalists, Academician **Georgi Nikolayev,** rector of the Moscow Higher Technical School, the leading Soviet en-



Georgi Nikolayev, head of the Bauman Higher Technical School in Moscow.

Moscow, capital of the USSR, has an area of 878.7 square kilometres and a population of 8.2 million. It is the Soviet Union's largest economic, scientific and cultural centre. The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government have their offices in Moscow; as do the all-Union ministries and their departments, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and other state and public organizations. Moscow has 75 institutions of higher education, 66 research institutes, 26 professional theatres and 65 museums.

gineering institution, emphasised that solving problems of educational progress is one of the major preoccupations of the Communists of the Soviet capital.

Like any large city, Moscow has quite a few municipal problems to deal with. These include air pollution control and the protection of the waters of the Moscow rivers (with 700 litres of water consumed every day in Moscow by its 8.2 million inhabitants in per capita terms, Moscow does not dump a single litre of polluted sewage). The people of Moscow pride themselves on its 11 natural forest ranges, 84 parks, 400-odd public gardens and 100 boulevards. There are about 20 square metres of greenery per head and this proportion is scheduled to be brought up to 25 square metres during the eighties as the Master Plan of Reconstruction is carried out.

Moscow never suffers from anything like a budget deficit which creates crisis situations in many of the world's largest cities today. But that does not mean, of course, that all problems are automatically solved. These include problems involved in the development of the services and public transport (the Moscow underground railway alone carries 6,200,000 passengers a day), the improvement of health service (the city has 250 hospitals with a total of 118,900 beds), the construction of pre-school institutions (those

Tamara Biryukova, a worker at Moscow's Calculating Machine Factory.

already built provide accommodation for 415,000 children), etc.

Tamara Biryukova of the Moscow Calculating Machine Factory, a delegate to the 26th Congress, spoke to newsmen about this. She said that Muscovites are deeply concerned about the problems of their city and the whole country. That was the case, for example, during the nationwide discussion of the country's economic and social development plans prior to the 26th CPSU Congress. This active involvement of the general public is due, above all, to the fact that people know that their interests would be taken into account in social and economic plans and would be met.

Soviet Communists have always fulfilled the obligations they have assumed before the people, and that is what has earned them their great confidence. In particular this is reflected in the elections. For example, 71.7% of Deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet are Party members. **Sergei Kupreyev,** First Secretary of the Baumansky District CPSU

Sergei Kupreyev, First Secretary of Moscow's Baumansky District Party Committee.

Committee, pointed out that the people of the Baumansky District had repeatedly elected Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, their Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation in the last 18 years.

The Ukraine: A Bit of Recent History

"May I ask a question in Ukrainian?" a correspondent from Canada asked, speaking in English, Vitaly Ignatenko, who chaired a press conference.

On getting an affirmative reply, he addressed the following questions to members of the Ukrainian delegation, on behalf of the third and fourth generations of Ukrainian emigrants to Canada (driven by poverty, the early settlers arrived in Canada in 1891): "How are things at home, how do people live there, have they forgotten the Ukrainians across the Atlantic?"

Writer Oles Gonchar.

Oles Gonchar, a writer, said that the "Ukraina Society" maintained cultural links with Ukrainian communities in Canada, the United States, Argentina and other countries. And the Secretary of the Kiev City Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party **Tamara Glavak** recalled that the 1500th anniversary of Kiev, one of the most ancient Slav cities, would be celebrated throughout the world next year, by a UNESCO decision, and said that the Ukrainian capital, a city of two million, would be welcoming foreign guests on this occasion.

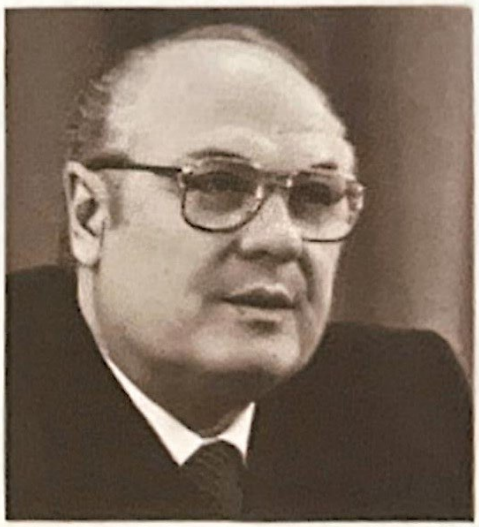
Many changes have taken place in the Ukraine's social, cultural and intellectual life during the years of Soviet government. It was only natural that most of the questions

Tamara Glavak, Secretary of the Kiev City Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine.

put by newsmen concerned its economy, which is of fundamental importance to the fulfilment of all social programmes.

Under the 10th Five-Year Plan, increased productivity accounted for 90 per cent of the increment of the Ukraine's national income. The Republic is making every effort to regear its economy to an intensive way of development.

Vitali Masol, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukraine and Chairman of its State Planning Committee, the republic's highest planning body, reported that the Ukraine's industrial output had increased by more than 30 per cent and agricultural output by 11 per cent in the 1976-1980 period.

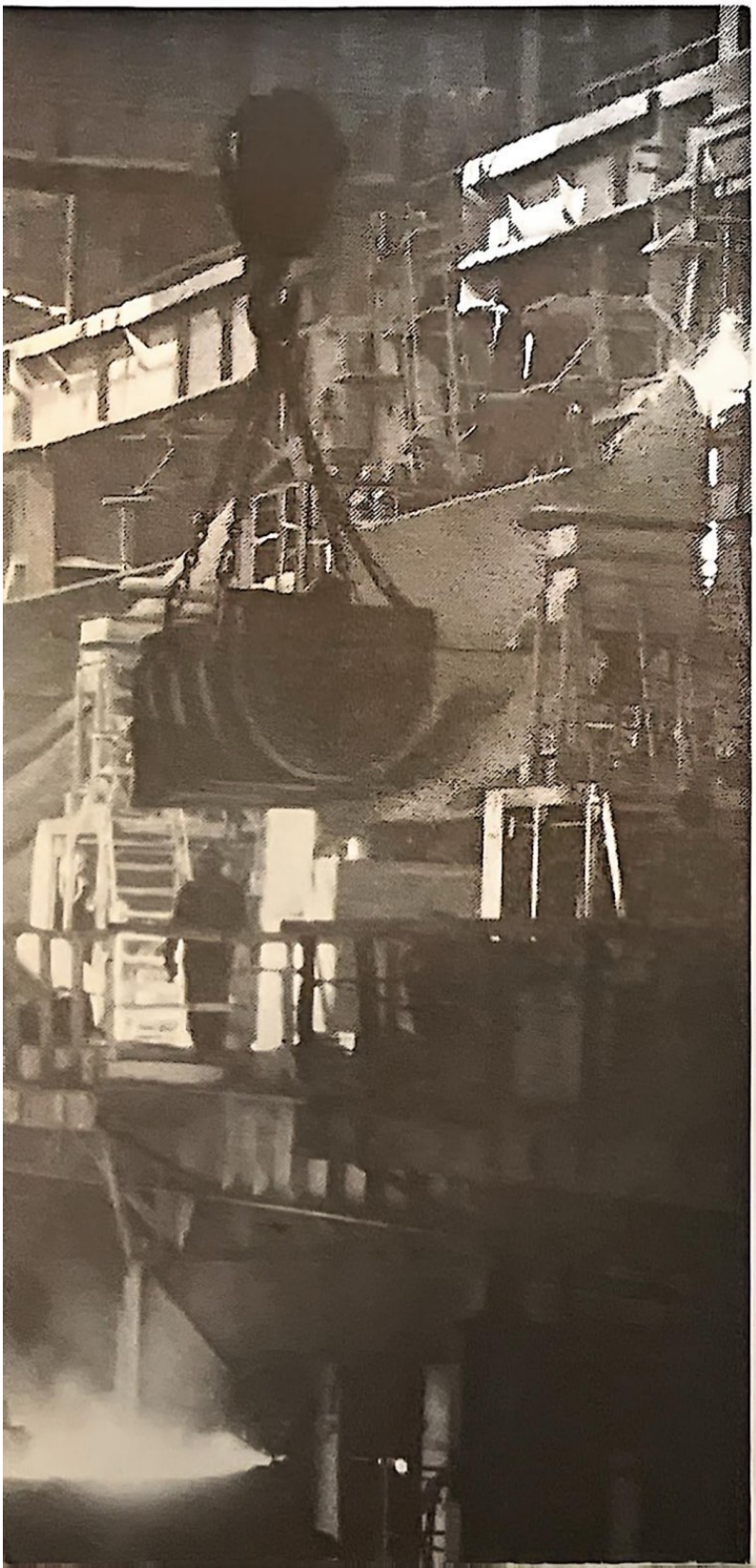


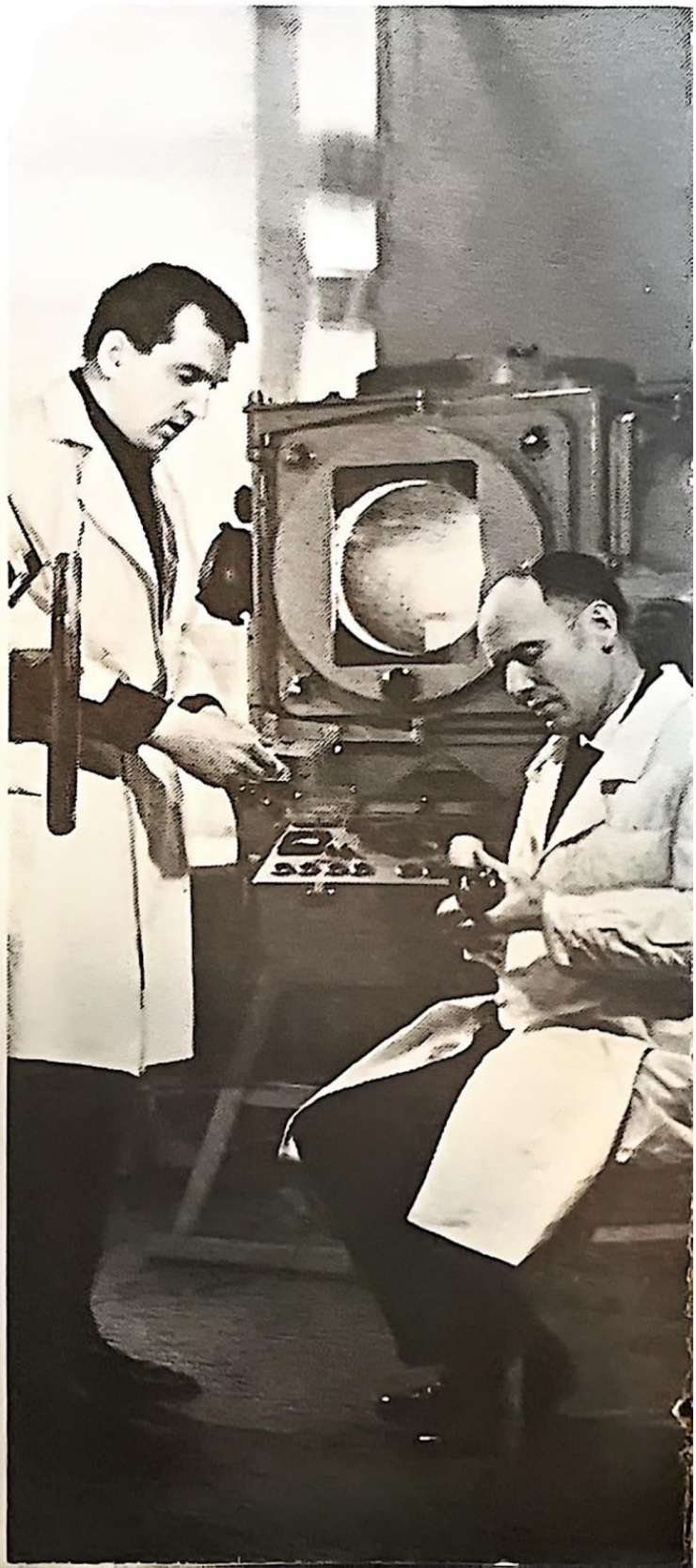
Vitaly Masol, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukraine and Chairman of its State Planning Committee.

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. It covers a territory of 603,700 square kilometres with a population of 50 million. Its capital is the city of Kiev.

In terms of population and economic potential the Ukraine ranks second among the 15 Union republics (next to the Russian Federation). It has a well-developed industry and agriculture, and exports manufactured goods to 100 countries.

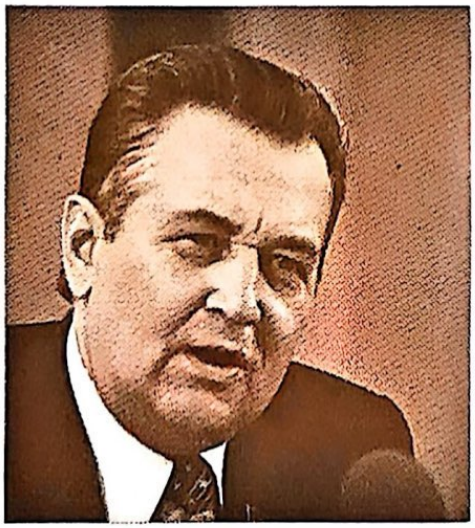
Academician Boris Paton, director of the Institute of Electric Welding of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (right), was a delegate to the 26th Congress of the CPSU.





The Ukraine's main economic strength is its powerful industry, above all, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, the coal industry and machine-building. In the new, 11th Five-Year Plan period it is planned to raise the manufacturing output by 20-23 per cent. The highest growth rates are envisaged for industries which determine scientific and technological progress: machine-building, the power, chemical and petrochemical industries, and instrument making.

An industrial revival is taking place in such traditional industrial centres as the Dnieper region and the Donets coal basin where metalmaking plants and the extraction of coal, iron ore, manganese and polymetals are concentrated. A still higher degree of mechanisation is to be achieved in the Donbas mines, which remain the biggest domestic supplier of coal. As to iron-and-steel industry, which annually produces 50 million tons of steel and a large part of Soviet



Yevgeni Kachalovsky, Secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk Region Party Committee.

rolled stock and steel pipes, all enterprises, as **Yevgeni Kachalovsky,** Secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk Region Party Committee said, have an extensive programme of reconstruction aimed at improving working conditions, raising the quality and extending the range of rolled steel and improving the protection of the environment.

Intensification of an economy relies on accelerated scientific and technological progress. Ukrainian academic and industrial institutes, as well as design bureaus have given industry many new ideas on new technologies and new materials. As pointed out by the President of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, **Boris Paton,** their application yielded a saving of more than 1,500 million roubles in the 10th Five-Year Plan period alone.

To ensure more efficient use of scientific and technological achievements in the economy and better coordination of the activities of the various industries of the republic, in the 1981-1985 period it will carry out six comprehensive task-oriented programmes, all of which are components of the state plan. The plan for power industry development is given top priority, for Ukrainian mechanical engineering (now accounting for about one-fifth of the country's total output of machinery, equipment and instruments), metalmaking, mining and agriculture require much energy (236,000 million kwh of electricity was generated in 1980). The growing energy requirements will be met mostly by new atomic power stations. The programme provides for the commissioning of the first units at the Khmelnitsky, Zaporozhye and Crimean stations, as well as new capacities at the Chernobyl, South-Ukrainian and Rovno stations which are already in operation.

The emphasis in agriculture is on updating its fleet of machinery and equipment and on other intensive factors of growth. This will make it possible to raise gross farm output by 14 per cent without mobilising new labour resources which are practically exhausted. Average annual grain production, for example, is targeted for 52 million tons.

The objective of the economic plans of the Ukraine, as of all the other Soviet republics, is to improve the people's well-being. Four-fifths of the national income go to raising the living and cultural standards of the people. Real per capita incomes grew by 19 per cent during the past five years. Social

consumption funds increased by 31 per cent. These funds are used for financing free education and medical service, for maintaining clubs, libraries, sanatoriums and holiday centres, for providing various social benefits in the form of pensions, allowances and scholarships, and for providing annual paid leaves of workers and office employees.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union now has a membership of 17,480,000. In the period between the 25th and 26th Congresses its numbers grew by 1.8 million. In the CPSU 43.4 per cent of the membership are workers, 12.8 per cent—collective farmers, and 43.8 per cent—members of the intelligentsia. 5,002 delegates were elected to the 26th Congress: of them 1,370 represented industrial workers, 877, farm workers and 269, members of the creative professions.
There were 1,329 women among the delegates.

Kazakhstan: To Know How Far You Have Gone, You Must Look Back and See Where You Made the First Step

So say old Kazakhs.

The 60 years that have passed since the formation of the Kazakh SSR provide an occasion for making comparisons. Kazakhstan today produces twice as many industrial goods in a single day as it did in the entire year of 1920. It has a technically advanced industrial base, consisting of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, power engineering and the coal, oil and chemical industries. Its machine-building and metal-working industries produce more than 2,000 types of machinery, apparatuses, instruments and automatic machines. Eighty countries including the USA, Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy and Japan import engineering products made in Kazakhstan. The republic's average annual grain output is 27.5 million tons and that of meat one million tons.

In a land where before the revolution only every fiftieth person could read and write there are now 169 students per 10,000 of the population, a figure that is considerably higher than in many developed Western countries. Over the six decades of Soviet government the average lifespan in Kazakhstan has doubled and now exceeds 70 years.

The development of Kazakhstan, like that of the other Soviet Asian republics, strikingly demonstrates the great extent of social and economic progress a nation following the socialist path can achieve. Kazakhstan's experience is interesting not only because of its rapid industrial and agricultural growth, but also because of its successful solution of the nationalities question. Members of over 100 nationalities live and work in this republic, among them Kazakhs, Russians, Ukrainians, Uigurs, Germans and others. It is not surprising therefore that there should be a great interest abroad in the achievements of Kazakhstan. The meeting of the delegation of Kazakhstan with representatives of the world press once again confirmed this.

Among the nearly 50 questions put by newsmen during this collective interview, many concerned various aspects of the nationalities problem and how it was solved. Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan **Nursultan Nazarbayev** cited as an example the

Nursultan Nazarbayev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan.

The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic. It covers a territory of 2,717,300 square kilometres inhabited by over 15 million people. Its capital is Alma-Ata. The republic holds a leading place in the volume of per capita industrial output, as well as in grain and livestock production. In terms of gross social product, Kazakhstan's output is worth over 120 million roubles daily.

Out of every thousand gainfully employed Kazakh citizens 807 have a higher or secondary education.

epic of the virgin land development in the fifties. Leonid Brezhnev, who then headed the republic's Party organisation, described it in his book **The Virgin Lands** as "a true school of internationalism, a depository of the wisdom and experience, the skills, the will to win of all peoples of our country". During those years more than 25 million hectares of virgin lands were ploughed and sown to crops in Kazakhstan. Together with Kazakhs people from all parts of the country worked on the virgin lands project. This is reflected, for example, in the names of the state farms—"Moscow", "Minsk", "Kiev", "Perm", "Voronezh" and others.

The friendship and mutual assistance of the Soviet peoples have yielded remarkable results. Whereas before the virgin lands scheme Kazakhstan produced no more than 1.5 million tons of grain even in a bumper crop year, now the average annual output is 27.5 million tons. Moreover, the produce of farms in the virgin lands is highly marketable: about six out of every 10 tons of the grain yield are sold to the state.

"Why do you, a Kazakh, write poetry in Russian?" newsmen asked the well-known poet **Olzhas Suleimenov.**

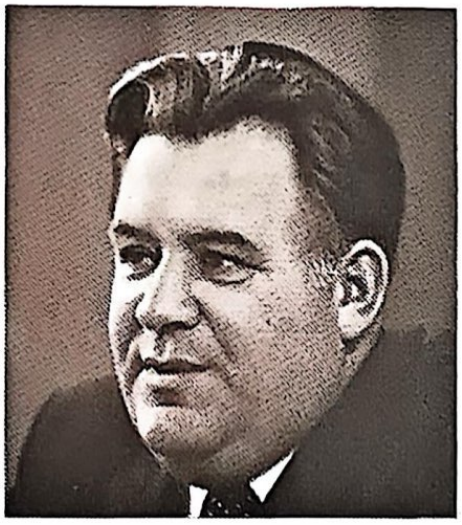
"In our country every poet or prose writer chooses the language in which he wishes to write, which may not necessarily be his mother tongue," he answered. "For in-

Poet Olzhas Suleimenov.

stance, the poetess Nadezhda Lushnikova, a good friend of mine, is a Russian, but she writes poetry in the Kazakh language. Moreover, she participates in the 'aityses'—poetic improvisation contests. As for me, I choose the Russian language in my writing because it is the language of communication between the peoples in the USSR and my verses written in Russian can be understood without a translator virtually throughout the country."

"There are quite a large number of Soviet citizens of German origin in Kazakhstan. Would you tell us something about them?" This question was addressed to **Yakov Gering,** chairman of a big collective farm in Kazakhstan.

"I can answer your question by saying something about my own life because I am a German and about our collective farm where Germans make up a majority—over sixty per cent—of the members," he said.



Yakov Gering, Chairman of the "30 Years of Kazakhstan" collective farm.

"How do we live? At our collective farm each family has a home of its own. As a rule, it is an urban-type house with all modern amenities. We have a large building programme at present. For instance, in the last, 10th Five-Year Plan period we built a new hospital, a music school, and two kindergartens. All this was financed from the collective farm's profits.

About 400 weddings were celebrated during the past five years, and each new couple was given a new flat.

"My family is an average one in size by our standards, consisting of my wife, myself and our four children. The eldest son, Evald, is a doctor and our daughter Flora is a teacher. The second son, Viktor, is a university student, while the youngest, Gherman, is studying to be an agronomist and wants to follow in his father's footsteps.

"There is no discrimination whatsoever against Germans, or against citizens of any nationality in the USSR for that matter. We do not forget our language and culture. Our collective farm has a school where classes are conducted in German for those who wish to attend such classes, and many members of our farm and their families participate in amateur German choral groups, both for adults and children. There is also a professional German drama theatre in our republic.

"The achievements of Kazakhstan, 'a planet of one hundred tongues', as Leonid Brezhnev calls it in his book **The Virgin Lands,** were highly appraised by the 26th CPSU Congress. Its economy and culture are flourishing. More than 250 modern industrial enterprises, large workshops and other production facilities were built there in the period of the 10th Five-Year Plan alone. Already for many years now Kazakhstan has been growing 16 million tons of cereals annually. Together with the cereal output of the Russian Federation and the Ukraine, this forms the basis of the nation's foodstock."

Armenia, a Phoenix That Has Risen from Its Own Ashes

Soviet Armenia today is a land of advanced industries: the electronics industry and the power industry, the chemical and mining industries, instrument making, light industry and the food industry. Members of the world press learned about this and about many other facts regarding the

development of the Transcaucasian republic at a meeting with Armenia's delegation.

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia **Karen Demirchyan** described the main stages of the socio-economic development of Armenia during sixty years of Soviet power in the republic.

The history of the Armenian people is complex and tragic. There had been periods of rise and decline in this country of ancient culture, and its people had suffered from campaigns of genocide launched by foreign oppressors. This explains why Armenians are scattered all over the world.

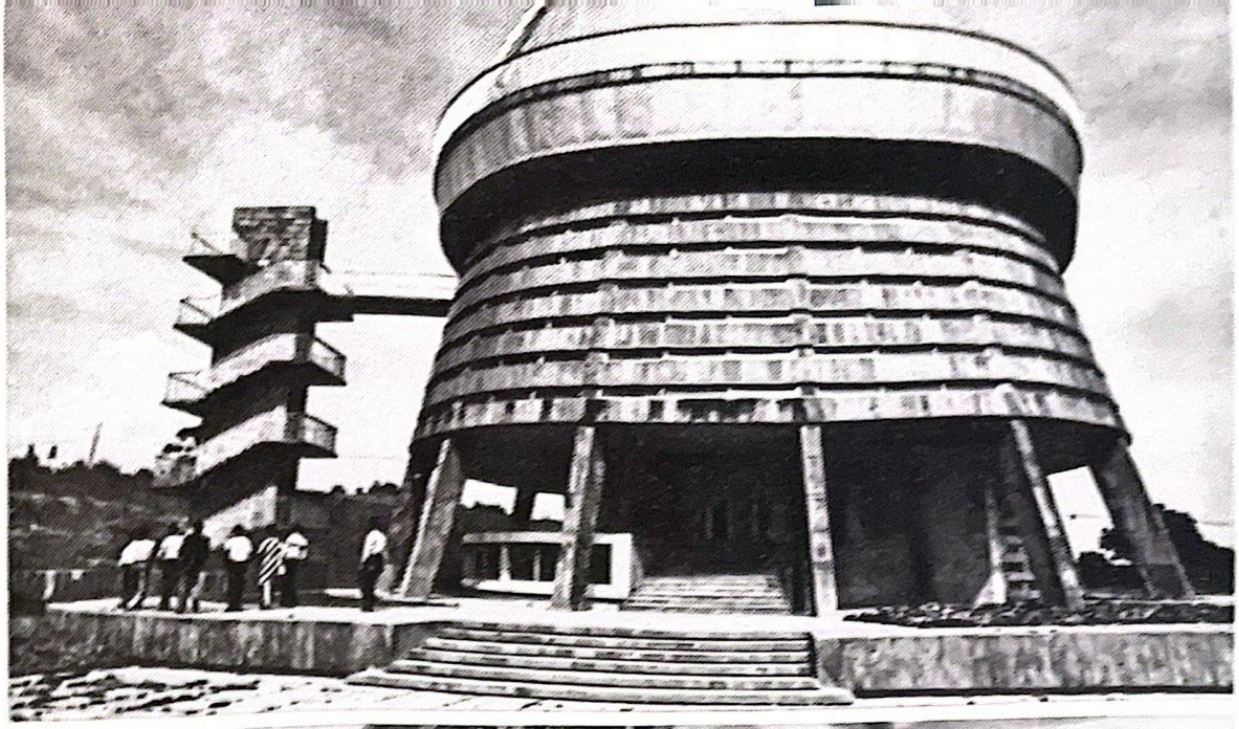
Karen Demirchyan said that there were three historical milestones on the difficult road traversed by the Armenian people: the year 1828 when Armenia linked its destiny with

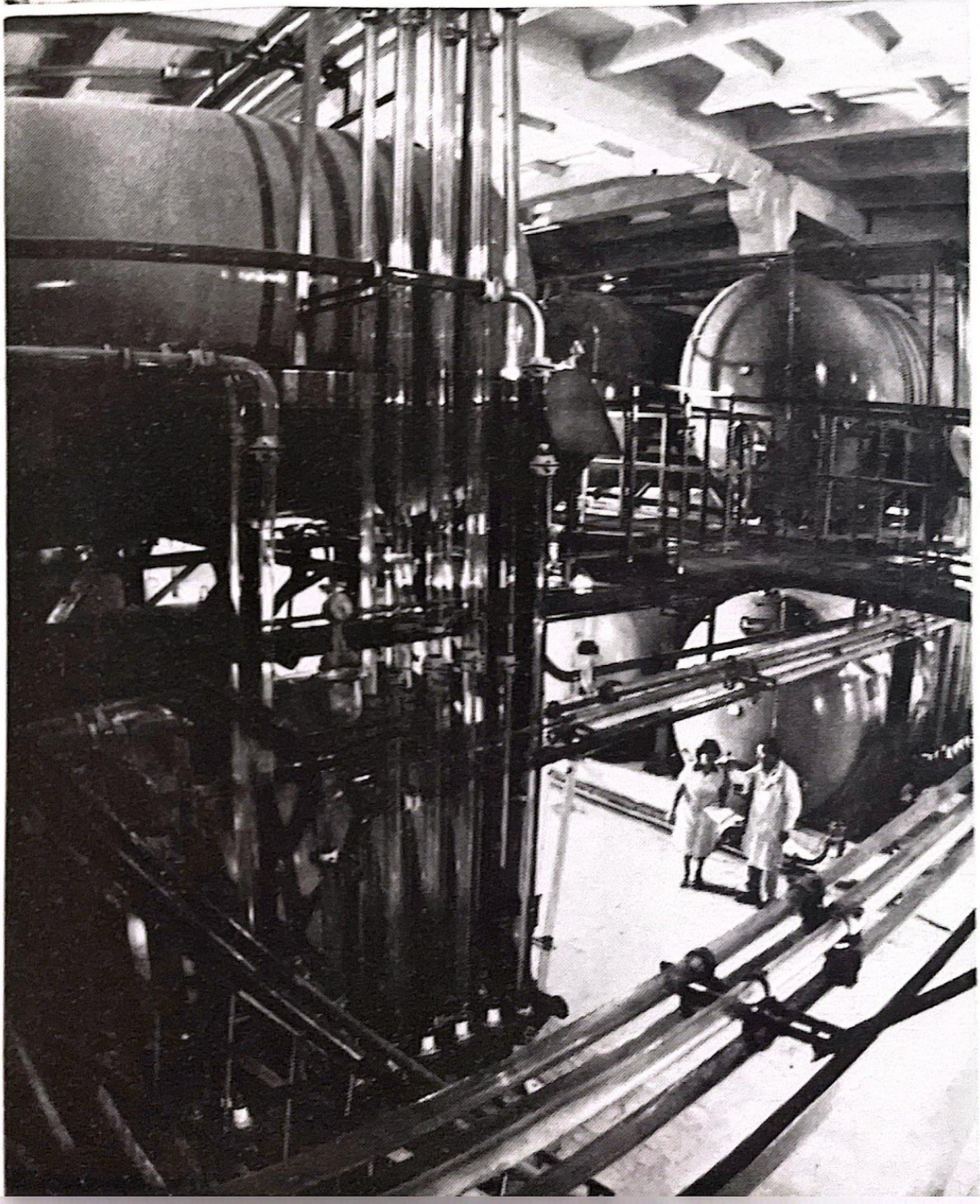
Karen Demirchyan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia.

Russia once and for all, 1917—the year of the Great October Socialist Revolution which ushered in a new era in the history of mankind, and the year 1920 when Soviet power was established on Armenian soil.

To get a better idea of the advances made in the past sixty years it is enough to recall the following facts. In 1920 there was no industry to speak of in Armenia, apart from primitive coppersmelting and leather making shops. Today Armenia's highly developed industry accounts for nearly two-thirds of the republic's national income. Armenia takes an active part

The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. It is the smallest in territory among the Union republics—29,800 square kilometres. Its population is 3.1 million, its capital—Yerevan. Armenia's industrial output includes metal-working machines, electric generators, power transformers, computers and precision instruments. Armenian scientists are world known for their achievements in astrophysics, pure and applied mathematics and oligomer chemistry.





in the Soviet foreign trade, the products of its enterprises being exported to 80 countries. Every year Armenia's industry masters the production of hundreds of new articles which correspond to the best world standards in their technical and economic characteristics.

From time immemorial Armenian peasants wrested small plots of ploughland from rocks and hills. The Armenian countryside has now changed beyond recognition—agricultural production is being firmly put on an industrial footing, though each new step involves effort and large financial outlays on irrigation and other agrotechnical measures. This large-scale and purposeful work has borne fruit: the average annual gross agricultural output increased by 24 per cent during the 10th Five-Year Plan period alone.

Today the Armenian people rightfully take pride in the successes of their public education system. One-third of Armenia's population is now enrolled in general education schools and specialised secondary schools, institutes and the university. There are over 1,500 general secondary schools and 13 higher educational establishments in the republic, with 60,000 students being trained in 150 fields. Jobs in line with their training are guaranteed to all of them, just as to all Soviet young people who have completed their studies.

Armenia has 18,000 researchers. But as Academician **Viktor Ambartsumyan,** the world-famous scientist and twice

Academician Viktor Ambartsumyan, twice Hero of Socialist Labour.

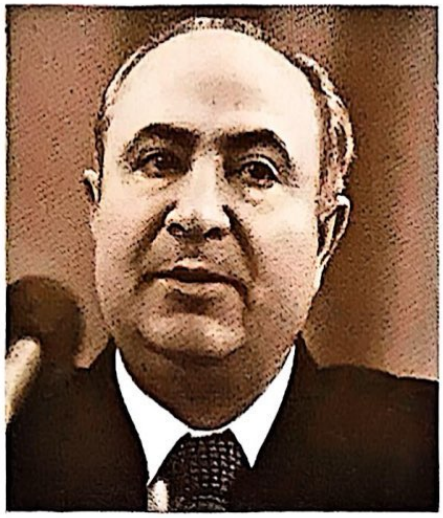
named Hero of Socialist Labour, said at the press conference, the efficiency of science is not determined by the number of specialists. The scientists of Armenia have won world renown in astrophysics, theoretical and applied mathematics, and in oligomer chemistry.

For instance, Armenian mathematicians have developed what is essentially a new trend in mathematics—combinatorial integral geometry. The astrophysicists are developing a new branch of astronomy—extra-galactic astronomy. Research in the promising sphere of oligomers will make it possible to obtain altogether new substances with various properties.

Armenian scientists maintain close links with scientists of many countries. The famous Byurakan Astrophysical Observatory has become a Mecca for astrophysicists from all parts of the world. Many chemists, physicists and biologists from socialist, capitalist and developing countries travel to Soviet cities, including the capital of Armenia, Yerevan. In Armenia, as elsewhere in the USSR, they believe that the pooling of efforts of the world's scientists for the sake of economic and social development, for the good of mankind, is not only expedient but also necessary. All forms of scientific and technical cooperation should be free of time-serving political considerations.

Among the many questions put at the press conference some concerned specifically the fate of the famous mountain lake, Lake Sevan.

Fadit Sarkisyan, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian Republic, briefly described the history of the problem. To meet its energy requirements Armenia, a mountainous country, had in the past rehed completely on its water resources, including those of Lake Sevan. But in recent years the use of the lake's water has been sharply curtailed in order to preserve the lake for future generations. The entire energy base has been rebuilt: Today hydroelectric power stations account for less than a quarter of electricity-generating capacities in the republic. The water level of Lake Sevan has ceased to fall. A 48-kilometre-long tunnel-canal has been driven through the Vardeniss mountain range



Fadit Sarkisyan, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Armenia.

along which "donor" water flows into the lake from the Arpa River. The state is sparing no financial means to save the pearl of Armenian nature. The canal will also assure stable production of electricity by the Sevan-Razdan series of hydroelectric power stations.

"In what ways are contacts maintained with Armenians living abroad?"

"It so happened that there are Armenian communities in many countries," Karen Demirchyan said. "Most members of these communities have patriotic feelings for the land of their ancestors, and the Homeland appreciates this. A meeting of representatives of Armenian communities abroad took place in Yerevan last year. It confirmed the good state of our relations. We intend to continue to strengthen these relations.

"Every year children from Armenian communities abroad spend their holidays in Armenia; teachers in Armenian schools from all parts of the world come to Armenia to improve their professional skill, and thousands of Armenian tourists visit their native land. Among them many had witnessed the bitter past of Armenia. They visit the land of their ancestors with tears in their eyes, they hardly recognise it. People who have not seen their homeland for sixty years call today's Armenia a phoenix that has risen from its own ashes."

All This Is Siberia

In one of the local dialects Siberia means "a slumbering land". The name is not very apt for modern Siberia. The development of Siberia and the Soviet Far East, which is going on at a fast rate, is the basis of the Soviet Union's economic development plans for the period covering the end of this century and the beginning of the next.

"What makes you like Siberia?"

At the end of the press conference this question was put to a delegation from the Krasnoyarsk Territory. The answers given to this question fairly summed up all the delegates had to tell about Siberia.

Vadim Taskayev, the manager of the Krasnoyarskugol coal-mining complex, said that it was a great honour for him as a coal-mining specialist to take part in the development of the Kansk-Achinsk coal basin, where vast reserves of coal lie very close to the surface of the earth. In 1990 the region is expected to produce 100 million tons of coal and in 2000, about 200 million tons. A number of big power stations with a total capacity of 50 to 100 million kilowatts are to be built there.

Alexander Isayev, a biologist and Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said he was overwhelmed by the richness and variety of Siberian nature with its ice-bound Arctic, vast expanses of the taiga, alpine resorts and grain-producing steppeland. Alexander Isayev's enthusiasm for Siberia was shared by **Anna Sakharova,** a weaver from Krasnoyarsk. Anna is a native of Siberia, born in a village near the Krasnoyarsk Hydropower Station.

"Siberia is a fairy tale," **Vyacheslav Demidenko**, a team leader at the construction site of the world's biggest Sayan-Shushenskoye Hydropower Station (6.4 million kw), said. He added that he was born in the Ukraine. When he was a child he dreamed of living in the tropics, but having found himself in Siberia, he came to like its nature and people. Siberia made Vyacheslav a famous hydropower station builder in the country. He took part in many large hydro-

power projects built in the last few years: the Bratsk, Krasnoyarsk and Sayan-Shushenskoye Hydropower Stations.

"The Krasnoyarsk Territory is developing so fast that everyone can see with his own eyes the results of his work, from the foundation stone to a modern city," said **Boris Blagikh,** First Secretary of the Party Committee of Norilsk, a city in the Polar Circle.

The Krasnoyarsk Territory is in the heart of Siberia. Extending for 3,000 kilometres from the Arctic coast to the south of the subcontinent, it is extremely rich in fuel and energy resources. It accounts for about 40 per cent of the country's reserves of brown coal, 18 per cent of high-grade timber and 13 per cent of water resources. It also has vast reserves of iron ore and non-ferrous metals. There is still much work for geologists there.

Small wonder that the Krasnoyarsk Territory was chosen as a site for a large-scale social and economic experiment. There a ten-year programme for the development of productive forces was carried out. This was described by First Secretary of the Krasnoyarsk Territory Party Committee **Pavel Fedirko.** The purpose of the programme is simultaneously to develop natural resources of the area and to build industries and an infrastructure. The programme provided for the further development of the

Pavel Fedirko, First Secretary of the Krasnoyarsk Territory Committee of the CPSU.

Norilsk industrial centre on the Taimyr Peninsula and the ensuring of the year-round navigation on the Murmansk-Dudinka Arctic line which is a reliable and convenient sea route between the mainland and Norilsk, one of the world's biggest cities in the Polar Circle. The programme also provided for increased production of cheap coal in the Kansk-Achinsk basin and the construction of the first of a series of hydropower stations there—the Berezovskaya Thermal Power Station with a capacity of 6.4 million kilowatts, the construction of the Sayan-Shushenskoye Hydropower Station, the building of large-scale engineering and other plants and the development of the agrarian sector. Last but not least, the programme provided for the building of new cities and towns. Over the past decade industrial production in the Krasnoyarsk Territory has increased by 130 per cent.

A new comprehensive ten-year development programme for the 1981-1990 period is linked with the *Sibir* super-programme.

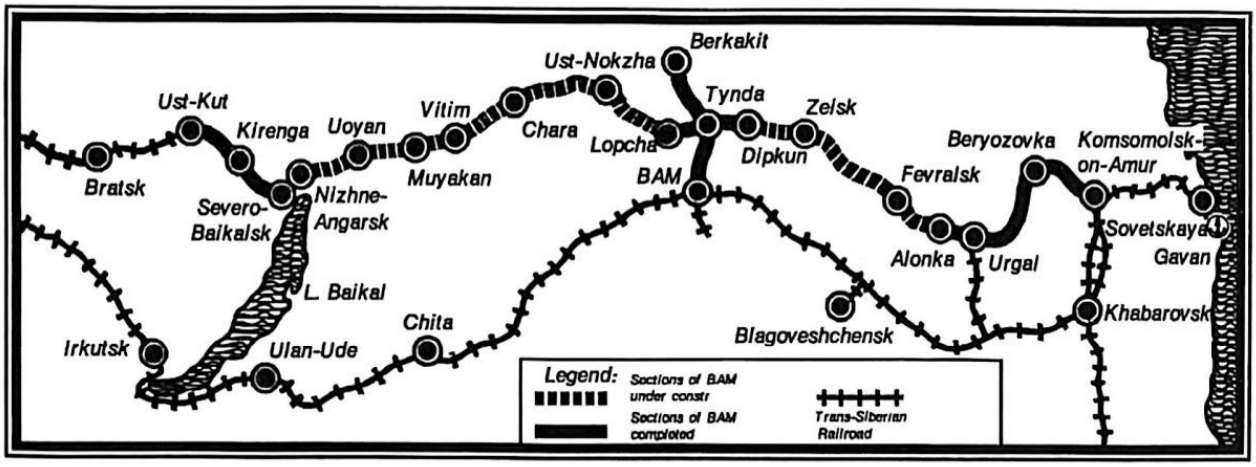
Although development of the Krasnoyarsk Territory holds great promise, the implementation of the plans will not be easy. Labour shortage is one of the problems. With an area of 2.4 million square kilometres, the region has a population of only 3.2 million. Skilled labour must be attracted to Siberia to maintain the present rate of development of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. But there are some encouraging signs: thanks to the social and economic measures taken in recent years, the population of the Krasnoyarsk Territory has been steadily growing for seven years now.

BAM, or the Baikal-Amur Main Railway, has been called "the project of the century". This 3,200-kilometre railway will link Central Siberia with the Pacific coast and accelerate the development of a region with a total area of 1,500,000 square kilometres, or three times the size of France.

Konstantin Mokhortov, the manager of the BAM project, and his colleagues had much to say that interested the listeners.

Siberia. It contains nearly three-quarters of the Soviet Union's mineral, fuel and energy reserves, over one-half of its hydropower generating capacities and fresh water reserves, nearly one-half of its commercial timber reserves, one-fifth of its arable land and a considerable part of its non-ferrous ores.

Siberia is being settled and its riches tapped in a capital way: a new railway—the Baikal-Amur Mainline (BAM)—is being built across Siberia; new cities and towns with medical institutions, schools and kindergartens go up around industrial complexes.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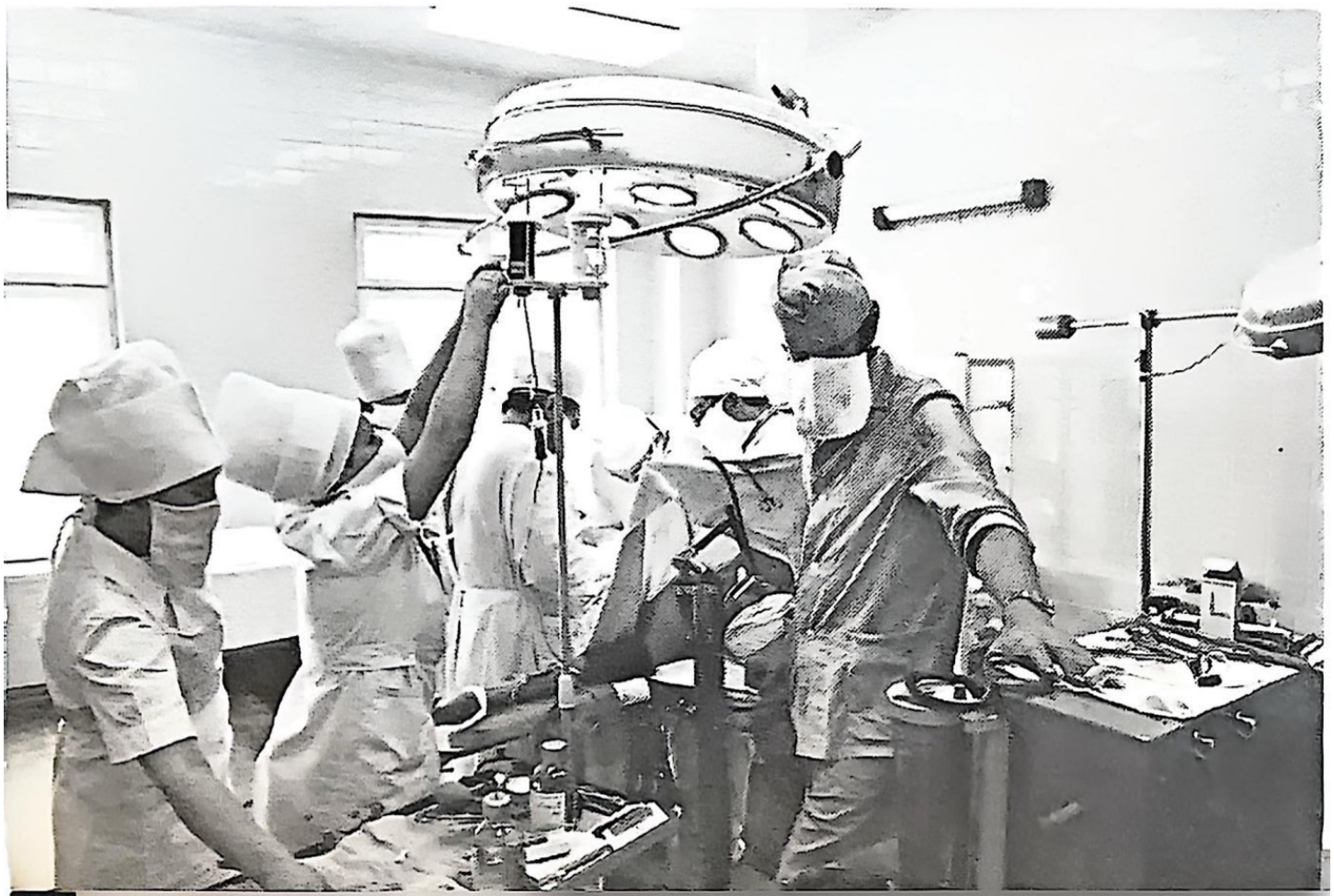


Konstantin Mokhortov, head of the BAM construction project.

"BAM begins at the Taishet station on the Trans-Siberian Railway and extends to the northern shore of Lake Baikal and further to Komsomolsk-on-Amur, which is linked by railway with the Pacific coast," he said.

"How much work has already been done?"

"We have already built 1,900 kilometres of the Greater BAM (the Smaller BAM is a 404-kilometre meridian line between BAM, Tynda and Berkakit, which was completed in 1979 and opened a way to Yakutian coal). Regular traffic began on a 600-km stretch at the end of the last year and another 1,000 km are temporarily open for traffic. Half of the entire embankment—200 million cubic metres of earth—has been built. BAM will open for through traffic in 1984."

1,900 kilometres of railway built over a period of six years. Is this much or little? Builders say that it is very much indeed. Why?

BAM is to pass almost entirely through permafrost and an earthquake-prone zone. Temperature there fluctuates between 40°C in summer and —60°C in winter. The railway is to cut through seven mountain ranges and cross tens of Siberian rivers, including the Lena, the Amur, the Vitim and the Zeya. Bridges and tunnels will account for two per cent of the railway's length.

BAM is not an ordinary railway. Addressing the Soviet Communist Party's 26th Congress, Leonid Brezhnev poin-

ted out: "Big opportunities for advancing east and north are being opened up by the Baikal-Amur Railway.

"The industrial development of new regions is important both socially and politically. The work collectives arising there bring with them high standards of work and everyday life, and a new, contemporary rhythm of life."

In the Baikal-Amur Railway zone the South Yakutian Territorial-Production Complex is now being built, which will include a coal, iron ore and possibly a steel-making industry. Plans are being drawn up to build in the north of the Chita Region a major mining complex based on the Udokan copper deposit. The Upper Lena Territorial-Production Complex will consist almost entirely of logging and wood-working enterprises. The North-Baikal Territorial-Production Complex will be based on the vast local deposits of zinc, lead and molybdenum. The Zeya-Svobodnensky TPC will be a major power-generating centre, and the Urgal TPC will be a major fuel-supplying base.

Some 200 towns and settlements will be built along the railway. Ninety of them already exist. All of them, including Tynda, a town with a population of 55,000, and the small village of Kichera, are characterised by a new life rhythm. **Vyacheslav Aksyonov,** a woodcutter, builder and team leader, told newsmen that Kichera, which appeared on the map three years ago, now had a population of 2,000. It has a secondary school, a music school, a gym, a stadium and a community centre. Like most of the 132,000 BAM builders, people in Kichera have become permanent settlers in Siberia. They marry, raise families (there are more than 44,000 infants in the towns situated along BAM), learn trades and study.

"Where will they go and work after the railway is built?"

"Siberia is a big country. Many new construction sites will appear there," Vyacheslav Aksyonov said.

George St. George, an American, first visited Siberia when he was a boy. He went there with his father, an engineer who worked on the Trans-Siberian Railway. Several years ago, more than half a century later, St. George took a trip to

Siberia, the country of his childhood. He travelled extensively and saw a great many things. In his book based on his trip he said that developments in modern Siberia showed that the Soviet people were building their future and harboured no warlike plans against other nations and that a durable peace was a vital necessity for them. If there is no peace, all that has been achieved in Siberia would be reduced to absurd expenditures. Vast investments in capital and labour prove the Soviet Union's determination to pursue a policy of strengthening peace.

The Soviet Union is the world's leading producer of oil, steel, cement, mineral fertilisers, wheat and cotton.
In 1980 the USSR produced 603 million tons of oil, including gas condensate; 148 million tons of steel; 125 million tons of cement; 104 million tons of mineral fertilisers; over 98-million tons of wheat; and nearly 10 million tons of cotton.
The Soviet Union has more doctors (over a million) and engineers (about 4.5 million) than any other country in the world; one out of every four researchers in the world is a Soviet citizen.

Kuban: From Generation to Generation

"What is happening on the legendary Little Land which has become universally known thanks to Leonid Brezhnev's book of the same title?"

This was one of many questions put to the delegation of the Krasnodar Territory, traditionally called the Kuban area after the main river of that fertile region, during a press conference.

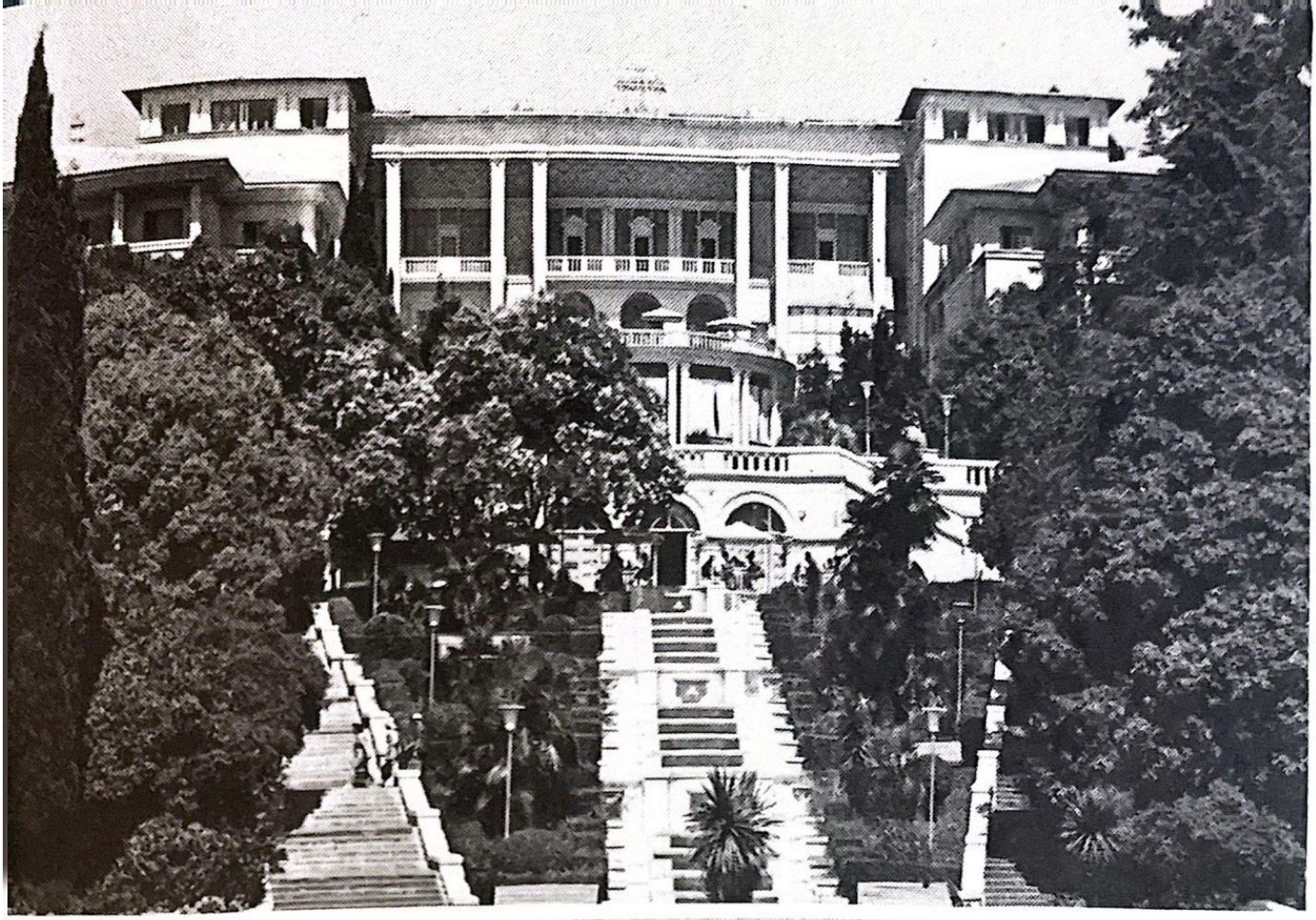
"The Little Land—a heroic site of the last war—and the Hero City of Novorossiisk are inseparable," said **Yuri Zhurkin,** First Secretary of the Novorossiisk City Party Committee. "They will always be a symbol of the selfless

Yuri Zhurkin, First Secretary of the Novorossiisk City Committee of the CPSU.

dedication, staunchness and courage of the defenders of our Motherland.

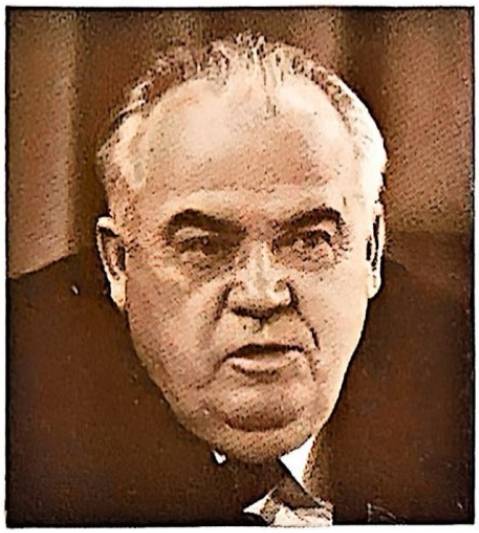
"A memorial erected on the Little Land includes a monument to the seamen of the Black Sea Fleet who sank their ships during World War One so as to avoid capture by troops of Kaiser Germany. During World War Two it was an important defence line. In future a panorama of the Battle of Novorossiisk will be added to the memorial. An average of 1,250 kg of enemy bullets, shells, mines and bombs was dropped on each defender of Novorossiisk during the war. A simple monument made from these 1,250 kg of steel and erected here is a symbol of life that conquers death—the enemy steel did not break the will of the Soviet people who defended their country's independence."

"The working people of the Kuban area want to be worthy of the heroes of the Little Land," said **Sergei Medunov,** First Secretary of the Krasnodar Territorial Party Committee. "In the 10th Five-Year Plan period it produced about 40 million tons of grain. Every year it puts out over 480,000 tons of meat, more than 1.4 million tons of milk and 1,000 million eggs. We grow vegetables, fruit, grapes and tea. Sugar beet and sunflower are grown on a large area. It is not only the volume, however, that matters. About 85 per cent of the Kuban wheat sold to the state is high-grade grain. You



The Krasnodar Territory, one of the Soviet Union's chief granaries. It covers an area of 83,300 square kilometres and has a population of 4.9 million. It includes a large health resort zone on the Black Sea coast with Sochi as its centre.

A monument symbolizing the triumph of life over death. Erected in what was known during the war as Little Land, it is made of 1,250 kilograms of lethal metal hurled, on average, against each of Little Land's defenders.



Sergei Medunov, First Secretary of the Krasnodar Territory Committee of the CPSU.

might say that Kuban is the country's supplier of seeds for the major crops."

"What are the main tasks of the agrarian sector of the Kuban area in the 80s?

"The foremost task is that of ensuring high and stable yields regardless of weather conditions. The work now under way to bring part of the water from the north of the country through the Volga to the south will help us carry out that task. When completed this project will make it possible for us to increase grain production in the area up to 16 million tons a year and create a stable fodder base for a highly intensive cattle-raising industry.

"Second, we are to grow rice on lands which were not used for crop-growing in the past. In the 10th Five-Year Plan period the Kuban area increased rice production to a million tons a year. New engineering facilities for rice-growing were built on 100,000 hectares of land during that period.

"Third, the accomplishment of this task is facilitated by the introduction of wasteless technology in processing farm products. In the use of this technology, which precludes losses in all sections of the agro-industrial complex, our people have had more successes than agricultural workers elsewhere in the country.

"The importance of the Krasnodar Territory does not lie only in the agrarian sector. Industrial output in terms of

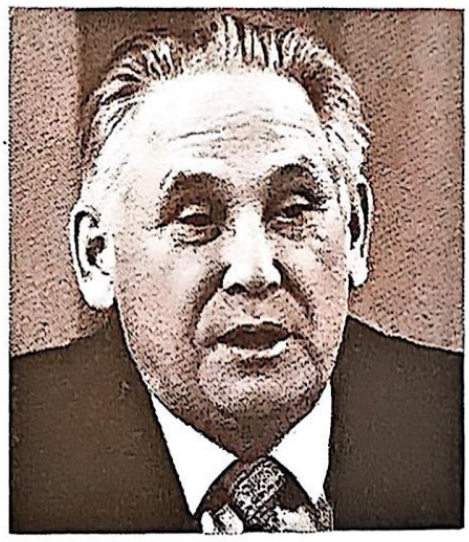
monetary value is more than twice as high as that in the agrarian sector. Novorossiisk and Tuapse are the main ports handling Soviet oil exports. The Novorossiisk Shipping Line has the country's largest tanker fleet. And finally, the Kuban area, the south-eastern part of which has a subtropical climate, is the country's biggest health resort centre. There are over 200 mineral spas here. Each year at least 11 million people spend their holidays in the Kuban area."

Kuban is famous for its grain; it is a major granary of the country. When asked how he assessed Kuban grain production in the year 2000, **Mikhail Klepikov,** a famous Soviet grain grower, a member of the CPSU Central Committee and a team leader of the Kuban Collective Farm, said that by the beginning of the next century the average yield of grain and legumes in the Krasnodar Territory would be 5 to 6 tons per hectare.

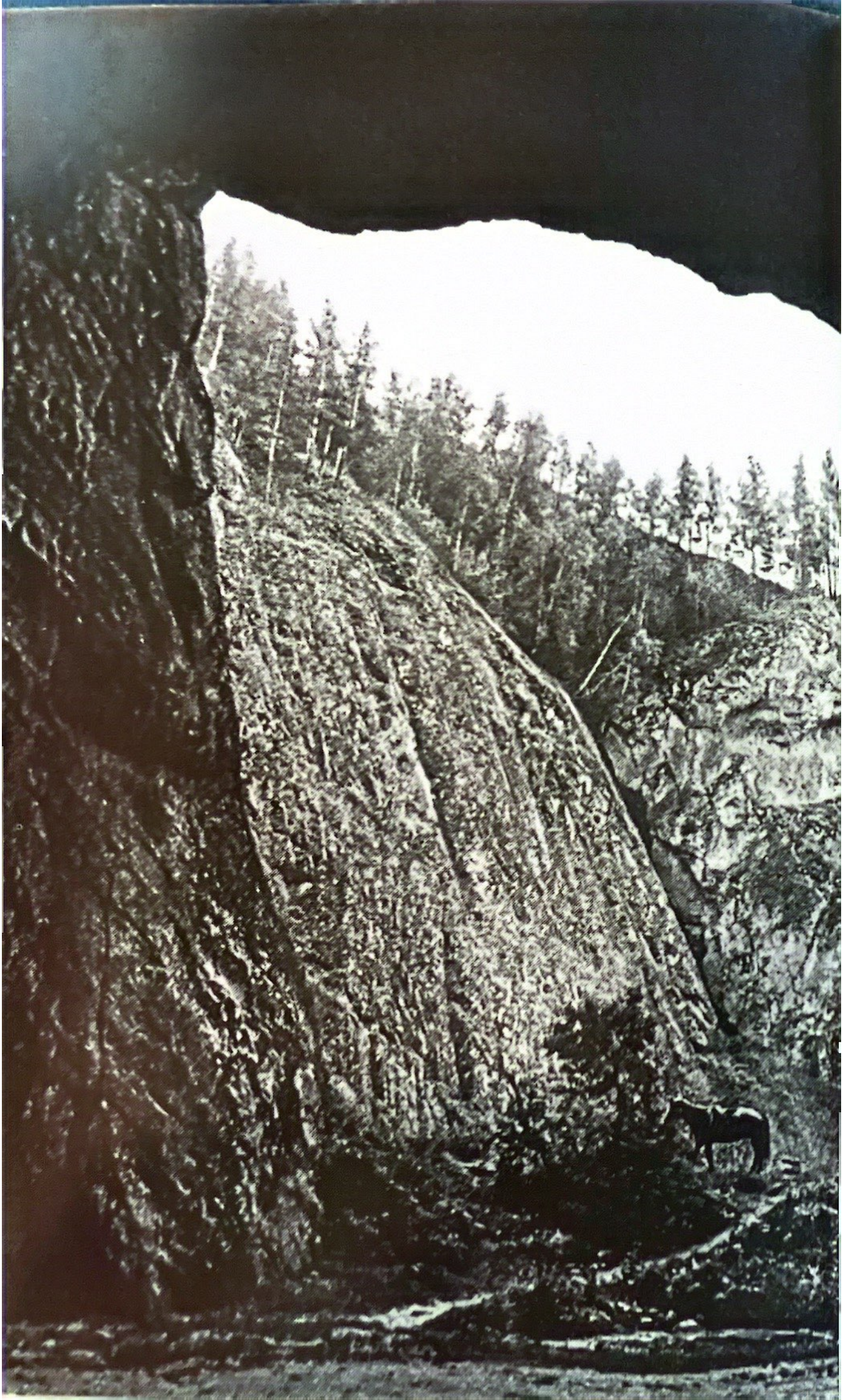
Bashkiria: The Juncture of Europe and Asia

There are over a thousand lakes and about 600 rivers, including many mountain rivers, in Bashkiria, more than half of whose territory is covered with forests, mostly relic lime-trees.

Bashkiria today is a major industrial-agrarian region of the USSR. **Tagir Akhunzyanov,** Secretary of the Bashkir

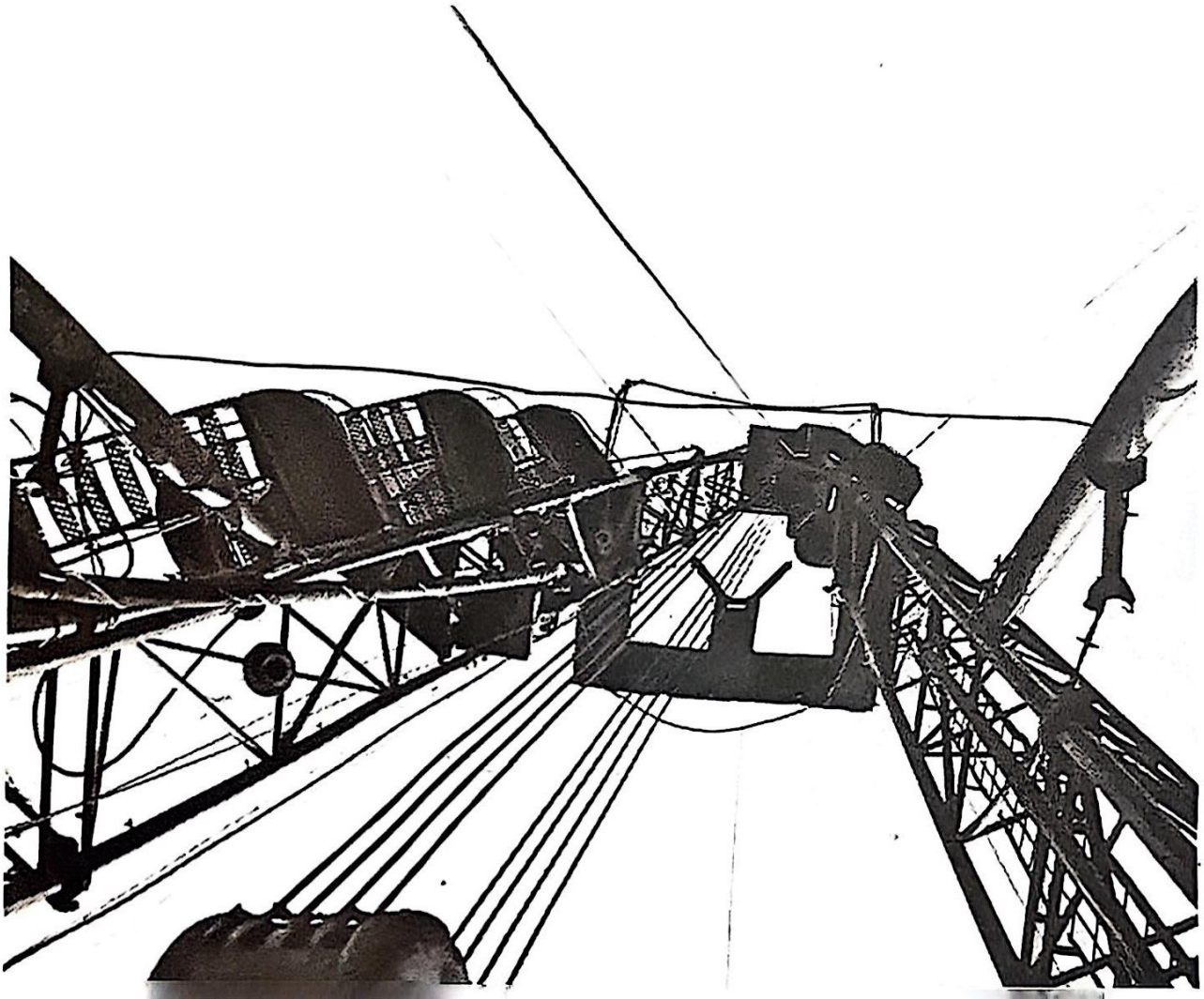


Tagir Akhunzyanov, Secretary of the Bashkir Region Committee of the CPSU.



The Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, a constituent of the Russian Federation, lies partly in Europe and partly in Asia. The border between the two continents passes across its territory (143,600 square kilometres) along the Urals and the Ural river. Bashkiria's population is about four million, its capital—Ufa.

The main areas of the republic's economic effort include: oil extraction, chemical and petrochemical industry, instrument making, machine building, manufacture of oil-producing and electrical equipment, microbiology and motor vehicle construction.



Region Party Committee, said that in the years of Soviet power the republic's industrial production had increased 977 times.

In May 1932 oil extraction was started near the village of Ishimbayevo, and since then oil has been Bashkiria's chief source of income. Last year the thousand millionth ton of Bashkirian oil was extracted. Its reserves are not unlimited, however. Dozens of other modern industries have been set up in the republic, including a chemical and a petrochemical industry, instrument making and machine-tool building, the production of oil and electrical engineering equipment, microbiology and car making. It is these industries that make up the industrial profile of the republic today.

Qualitative changes are expected to take place in the industrial structure of Bashkiria in the next ten years. As **Faizulla Sultanov,** Chairman of the Presidium of the Bashkir Supreme Soviet, said, there will be an increase in the share of petrochemistry and mechanical engineering in the overall structure of its economy, and a certain reduction in the share of fuel and extracting and power industries. Already today Bashkiria is the USSR's leading centre for the production of fuel, lubricants and other oil products. In the 11th Five-Year Plan period the chemical and petrochemical industries will develop at faster rates than industry as a whole.

Faizulla Sultanov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Bashkir Supreme Soviet.

Another factor that will facilitate the planned structural changes in Bashkiria is that with a population of 4 million Bashkiria is the most populous of the Russian Federation's sixteen autonomous republics and, unlike many other regions, it has no labor shortage. Hence, it is expedient and profitable to develop in Bashkiria such labour-consuming industries as mechanical engineering, instrument making, the electrical engineering and electronic industries.

As regards Bashkirian oil, it will continue to make an important contribution to the republic's further progress.

"Bashkiria's rather old oil fields have so far shown an envious stability, producing 40 million tons of oil every year, or almost seven per cent of the USSR's total oil output," says **Yevgeni Stolyarov,** Director General of the Bashkirskaya Neft Production Association. "Incidentally reserves of oil in Bashkiria are situated near its main consumers—the industrial regions in the Urals, the Volga region and the central part of the European USSR. This is most important since it will cost 1,000 million roubles on the average to build 1,000 kilometres of oil pipelines."

Yevgeni Stolyarov, Director General of the Bashkirskaya Neft Association.

Bashkiria holds fourth place in the Russian Federation in agricultural production. In the 11th Five-Year Plan period the volume of its farm produce will continue to grow.

Grain production will increase mainly thanks to higher yields.

PRESS-RELEASE

In the 11th Five-Year Plan period (1981-1985) the USSR's national income used for consumption and accumulation will increase by 18 to 20 per cent. The real incomes of Soviet people will grow by 16 to 18 per cent in the same period.
Over 16,000 million roubles will be allocated for carrying out centralised measures to increase wages and other allowances and social benefits. Allowances and payments from social consumption funds will amount to 138,000 million roubles in 1985. An average family of four will receive 2,000 roubles worth of benefits in a year.

Meeting with a Writer

Works by **Chinghiz Aitmatov** have been published in more than 70 countries of the world. It is not surprising, therefore, that the meeting between the well-known Soviet writer, who deals with the most important moral and philosophical problems in his works, and journalists lasted a long time.

What is surprising, perhaps, was the ease with which Yugoslav, British, Bulgarian and Polish journalists pro-

Writer Chinghiz Aitmatov (second, right) with delegates at the 26th Congress of the CPSU.

nounced the name of the main character of Aitmatov's *A Day Longer Than a Century*. Yedigey Zhangeldin is not exactly an easy name to pronounce.

It is a fairly recent novel, but it has already aroused keen interest both in the USSR and abroad. In the opinion of many critics, this is explained by the fact that the writer has succeeded in telling a story about an ordinary worker living at a small railway station among Central Asian deserts against the background of the global problems of our time. This provided an occasion for a lively exchange between the journalists and the writer.

"I am a writer, not an expert in international relations," said Chinghiz Aitmatov. "So I shall speak only of the things which I myself have experienced and which I have thought about. I personally think that there is a leading force in the present-day international community which bears the main responsibility for the destinies of peace on our planet. It is the Soviet Union and other socialist nations. Why? Only a society pursuing lofty aims and ideals and having clear perspectives is capable of bearing such responsibility. We know what it is that we live for and fight for. That is why we need peace more than everything else. I am speaking about this as a citizen of this country, as a writer and, finally, as a Communist and a delegate to the Party Congress.

"If mankind does not learn to live in peace," Aitmatov went on, "it will perish. The atmosphere of mutual mistrust, apprehension and confrontation is one of the most dangerous threats to a tranquil and happy life of humanity. Only a relaxation of international tension can be considered a progressive policy today. There is no more responsible task today.

"In present-day conditions in which man not only has the technical possibilities of ensuring continued space flights and developing all the earth's wealth, in which global economic and ecological problems make it necessary to utilize these possibilities, the incitement of enmity among nations and the squandering of material and intellectual resources on the arms race are the most terrible crimes against humanity.

"These were my thoughts when I worked on the novel *A Day Longer Than a Century*. I am happy that this is in harmony with what is being said at the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

"What does participation in the Party's Congress mean to a writer?"

"For me it is both a great honour and a great advantage to be in the midst of a process that is of major importance for the world. I meet people, real people, who think and work and have tasks which they must accomplish. This cannot but leave an impression on my mind and will certainly be reflected in my future work."

The USSR in the 80s: Progress in Economy, Science and Technology and Higher Living Standards. What Are the Problems?

The USSR's gross national product increased by 67 per cent in the 70s to reach 1,061,000 million roubles. **Nikolai Lebedinsky,** Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, said that if one stacked up hundred-rouble notes equivalent to our national product, the pack would be approximately 3,000 km high.

In the past ten years USSR industrial production has increased by 78 per cent. Is this much or little? An answer

Nikolai Lebedinsky, Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee.

may be indicated by the following figure. The increment of industrial production alone exceeds the total volume of industrial output in the mid-60s.

Average annual agricultural production has increased by 23 per cent.

Average monthly wages have gone up by almost 40 per cent, and cash remuneration of collective farmers' work by a still higher percentage. Allowances and other payments from public consumption funds have nearly doubled.

The main task of the 11th Five-Year Plan consists in the ensuring of a further growth of the people's well-being on the basis of stable and continued development of the Soviet economy, acceleration of scientific and technical progress and transition of the economy to intensive development, more rational utilization of the country's production potential, all-round saving of all types of resources, and improvement of the quality of work.

In the next five years the Soviet Union is to increase industrial output by 26 to 28 per cent and farm production by 12 to 14 per cent (in average annual terms). The national income is to grow by 18 to 20 per cent.

This will make it possible to implement by 1985 a new broad programme for improving the well-being of the people. The tasks outlined in the plan are:

— to raise the real incomes of the population in per capita terms by 16 to 18 per cent (together with incomes from their subsidiary plots, collective farmers' cash earnings will come close to the wages of workers and office employees in town);

— to increase allowances and benefits to the population from public consumption funds up to approximately 500 roubles a year in per capita terms;

— to increase state-run and cooperative goods turnover by 22 to 25 per cent. The food programme and the programme for the development of consumer goods production which are being drawn up will make it possible to improve supplies to the population of the basic food products, in particular, meat, milk and fruit, and manufactured consumer goods;

— to continue to carry out the large-scale housing programme.

Naturally, many questions were asked about the results of the 10th Five-Year Plan, the prospects of the USSR's economic and social development in the 11th Five-Year Plan period and the problems and difficulties encountered. The questions were answered by Academician **Guri Marchuk,** Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Committee of the USSR for Science and Technology; **Nikolai Ryzhkov,** First Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; **Vladimir Lomonosov,** Chairman of the State Committee for Labour and Social Questions; **Nikolai Komarov,** First Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade of the USSR; and **Vladimir Shatalov,** twice Hero of the Soviet Union, and director of the Soviet space training programme.

Here are some of the questions addressed to **Nikolai Ryzhkov.**

Nikolai Ryzhkov, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee.

A correspondent for *Libre Belgique* (Belgium): *Why did the Soviet Union's economic growth rates slow down in the 10th Five-Year Plan period and why are even more modest rates envisaged in the 11th Five-Year Plan?*

"One of the reasons why our economic growth rates dropped in the previous five-year period is that more and

more mineral deposits are being developed to the east of the Urals now. The movement to the east and north calls for greater capital investments per unit of production because it is more difficult and costlier to build there. The new deposits are situated at a greater distance from industrial centres than the old ones, which makes their transportation costlier. Furthermore, the climatic conditions there are harsh and so the wages are higher. All this could not but affect growth rates in the 10th Five-Year Plan period.

"There are of course other reasons, too. In the last five-year period we had three years of poor harvest, and in the 70s we had altogether five years of bad harvest. This, too, has adversely affected our economy.

"Then there is the demographic echo of World War Two which took a toll of over 20 million lives in the USSR, or more than 10 per cent of the country's population. And there was a sharp decline in birth rates in the grim war years. The 'echo' was heard again 20 or 25 years later when the children of the 40s married. As a result, there has been an insufficient influx of new workers into the Soviet economy.

"Apart from that, there are quite a few subjective reasons why our economic performance has not been as good as we had expected. The most important of these is that we have not yet fully overcome the force of inertia, traditions and customs which took shape at a time when our emphasis was on quantity rather than quality.

"As for the 11th Five-Year Plan, the correspondent who asked the question is mistaken. Whereas under the previous plan, industrial output went up by 24 per cent, under the 11th Five-Year Plan it is to grow by 26 to 28 per cent. Is this a decline in growth rates? Under the previous plan, farm output increased by 9 per cent, under the new plan it is to rise by 12 to 14 per cent."

A correspondent for "Los Angeles Times" (USA) noted that Mr. Tikhonov had said in his report that under the 11th Five-Year Plan capital investments would grow by 12 to 15 per cent. This was half the growth rate in the previous five years. How did the Soviet Union intend to achieve higher rates of industrial growth?

"Under the 11th Five-Year Plan the rate of increment in capital investments will be lower, from 12 to 15 per cent.

"This is primarily because the time has come to use the existing industrial potential more efficiently.

"Let us take mechanical engineering. An analysis has shown that at engineering plants machines work only 1.5 shifts a day on the average. Raising the machine shift coefficient is one of the ways of intensifying production. Unfinished construction projects greatly reduced engineering performance. In the past few years we have been paying serious attention to this problem, as a result of which the number of unfinished enterprises stopped growing by 1980. We are beginning to reduce it to a reasonable minimum. I think it will take us three years.

"Taking these and other factors into consideration, we decided that we would be able to do with smaller capital investments under the 11th Five-Year Plan.

"The planned capital investments will be in housing first of all. In the previous five years we built 530 million square metres of housing. Under the new plan we are to build up to 540 million square metres."

A Swedish correspondent: *In connection with the 26th CPSU Congress some Western newspapers and magazines again talked about food shortages in the USSR. Will you comment on this?*

"Soviet people have adequate supplies of foodstuffs, although the per capita consumption of some products is still below the level recommended by doctors. This was pointed out in the reports and speeches of delegates to the 26th Party Congress. This refers, above all, to meat.

"In the past decade, the average annual per capita consumption of meat has increased by 16 kg to reach 57 kg a year. However, meat is still in short supply. To put things right, the Soviet Union is working out an integrated food programme. Very much attention was paid to this question in the CPSU Central Committee's Report to the Congress. In the current five-year period, the annual production of meat in the USSR is to increase at least by three million tons to reach 18.2 million tons in 1985."

A correspondent for "Business Week" (USA) asked at what stage was the drafting of the contract for the delivery of 40 billion cubic metres of natural gas to Western Europe and would the projected increases in wholesale prices of Soviet oil and oil products affect retail prices.

"We are now negotiating the sale of 40 billion cubic metres of natural gas to Western Europe. But whether a contract will be signed will depend on whether an agreement can be reached on credit terms, particularly on whether they will sell us the equipment we need to build a gas pipeline.

"In planning our economic development for the next five years and for the next decade, we carefully studied our fuel and energy resources. We paid attention not only to the extraction of fuel, but also to the need of using fuel more rationally. Under the 11th Five-Year Plan we are to save 160-170 million tons of reference fuel. This, and increased production of energy, will enable us to fully satisfy the domestic fuel requirements and to export a certain quantity of natural gas.

"As for the second question, on January 1, 1982, we shall raise the wholesale prices not only of oil and oil products, but also of other raw materials. We have been studying this problem for several years and have decided to raise the prices at the beginning of next year. We shall do this because for many years we have not raised fuel and raw materials prices, as a result of which many mining and extractive enterprises have stopped being profitable.

In the current five-year period, we will continue our principled economic policy of keeping retail prices of the basic industrial and farm products stable.

"A few years ago we raised the prices of gold, precious stones, carpets, high-quality furniture and crystal glassware in order to have more funds needed to keep stable the prices of goods of everyday use."

A Japanese TV correspondent: *The new five-year plan provides for a very small increase in oil output, whereas oil*

consumption will probably grow. Does this mean that the USSR will start importing oil?

"I have already said that in drawing up the current five-year plan, we examined not only the oil question, but the fuel and energy problem as a whole.

"After a careful consideration of the situation we came to the conclusion that it is necessary to extract and use much more gas, whose reserves are very big. Thus it was decided to reduce the increment in oil output as compared with the 10th Five-Year Plan and especially with the 9th Five-Year Plan. Oil is a precious, non-renewable product, and we must use it thriftily so as to leave enough oil to future generations.

"As for the second part of the question, I can say definitely that we will not import oil in the foreseeable future. The Central Intelligence Agency of the United States has predicted on two occasions that we will soon start importing oil. The first deadline, as far as I remember, was 1980 and then it was moved forward by another two years. However, let me say once again that the USSR will not import oil in the foreseeable future."

Among the questions addressed to Academician **Guri Marchuk** was one from a *"Los Angeles Times" correspondent who asked about the development of Soviet technologies for converting coal in the Kansk-Achinsk fields into liquid fuel.*

Academician Guri Marchuk, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology.

"On this problem we are conducting research in several directions: gasification, hydrogenation and thermolysis. It is hard to say at present which method will be the best. Apparently we will combine these methods. We have now reached the stage of designing pilot and semi-commercial installations. I think in a couple of years we will have the necessary experience for designing and building big plants."

Guri Marchuk said that assertions by Western propaganda media about the USSR's alleged dependence on Western technology were absolutely groundless. Restrictions on the export of Western technology to the Soviet Union, he said, have not hurt us, as has been expected by their sponsors. On the contrary, such restrictions have stimulated the progress in the relevant branches of science and technology in the Soviet Union. In the past five years the Soviet Union has sold 720 licenses to other countries, 2.5 times more than it purchased in the same period. Capitalist countries extensively use Soviet technologies for blast furnace evaporative cooling, dry coke slaking, electroslag remelting, metal casting in the magnetic field, continuous steel casting, etc.

The Soviet Union wants to develop mutually advantageous scientific and technical ties with other countries, ties which frequently grow into extensive economic cooperation. We shall adhere to this principled position, irrespective of temporary changes in the political situation.

Most of the questions addressed to General **Vladimir Shatalov** concerned international cooperation in space exploration. The Soviet principle in this matter, he said, is that there should be the greatest possible cooperation in space exploration between all interested countries for the good of science and economic development, and, in the final run, for the good of mankind in general. This principle has been confirmed by experience, particularly by the space flights made by international crews under the Intercosmos programme.

The Soviet Union puts its space technology, free of charge, at the service of countries interested in cooperation

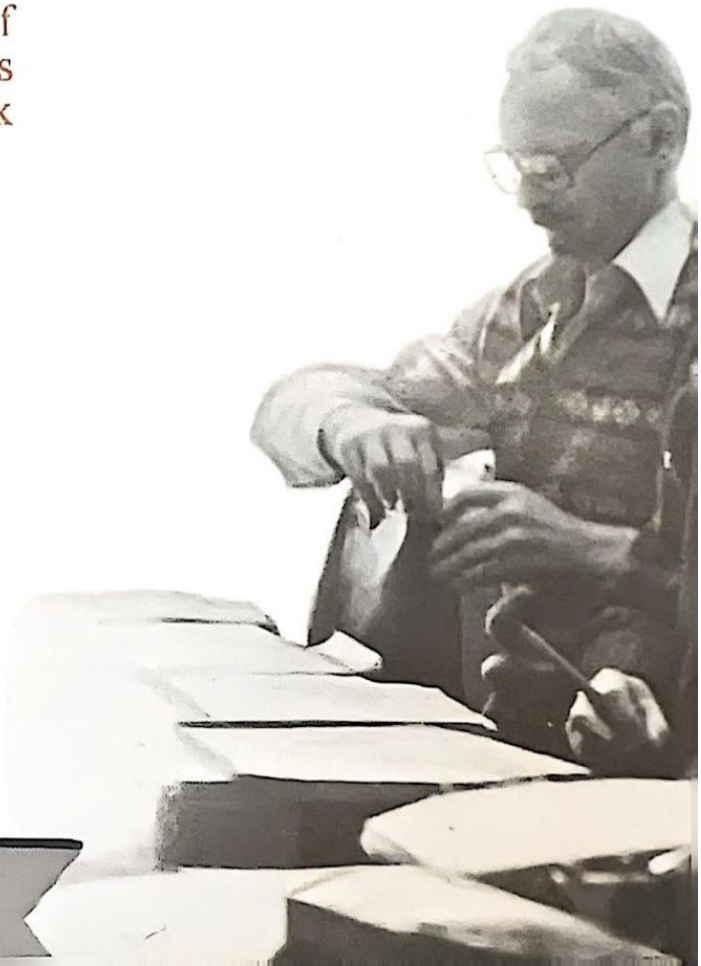
General Vladimir Shatalov, the space pilot in charge of the cosmonaut training programme, who was twice awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

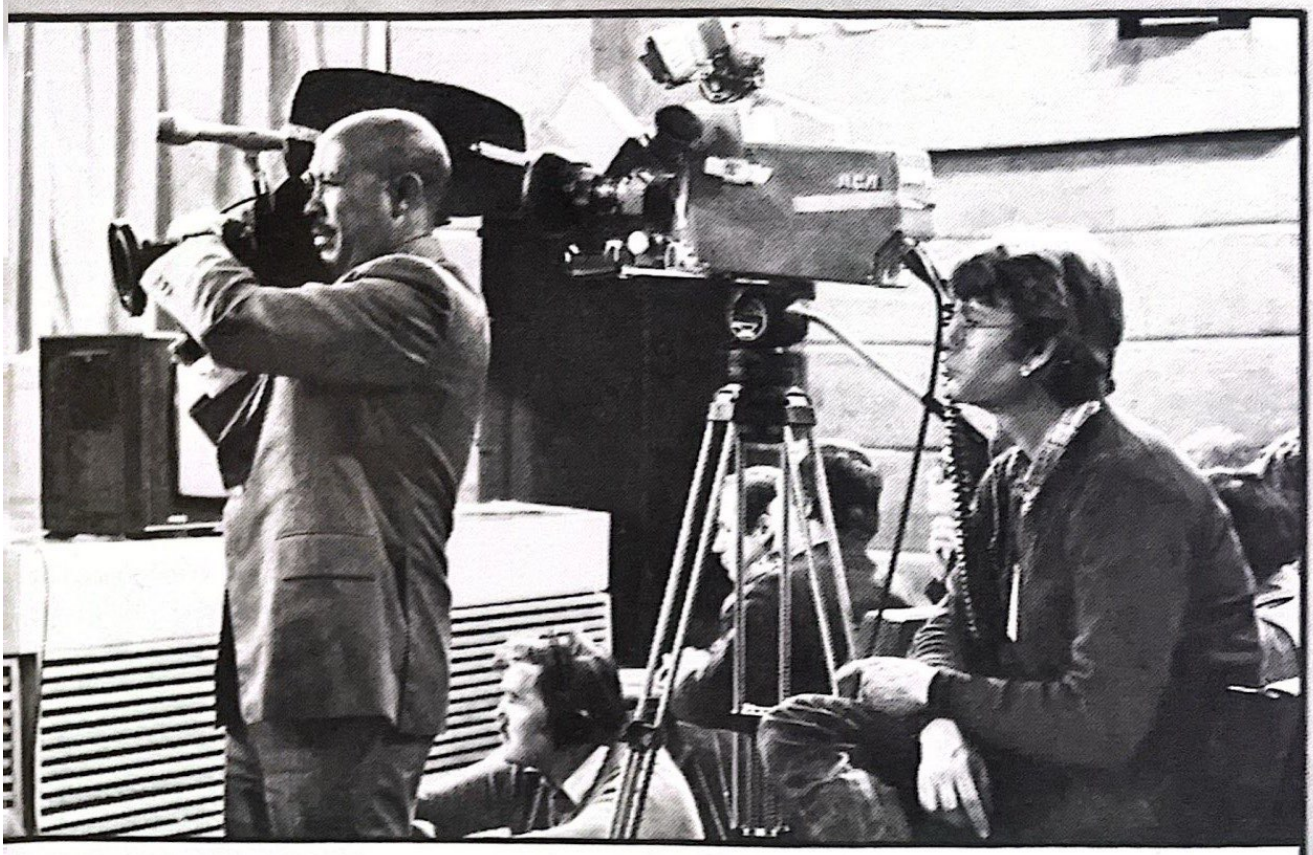
in this field. Today, two future French cosmonauts are undergoing training in Zvyozdny. Agreement has been reached on a future joint Soviet-Indian manned space mission. The Soviet Union is ready to cooperate with all interested parties in the exploration of space.

Asked to comment on the new US space programme, Vladimir Shatalov said that multiple-use space vehicles held great promise. He expressed the hope that the Shuttle programme would contribute to space exploration and the development of peaceful cooperation in near-terrestrial space. He deplored reports about the military objectives and tasks of this programme, particularly about units for testing laser weapons in space.

Space should be an arena of peace and peace only. The Soviet and US governments have firmly agreed on this and their accord is stated in a number of international documents, Vladimir Shatalov said. Scientific research, nature studies and technological experiments provide a broad and fertile field for cosmonautics. This is convincingly illustrated by the prolonged mission of the Soviet *Salyut-6* orbital station. It is worrying and disappointing that certain US quarters are trying to relegate the peaceful tasks of space exploration to the background.

The press centre of the 26th Congress of the CPSU ensured everyone freedom to express oneself, including the leaders of Western Communist and Workers' parties, who, despite declarations of their governments about "representative democracy" and "freedom of information", do not always get the opportunity to speak freely.

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THE WORLD TODAY. GUESTS OF THE CONGRESS SPEAK

"The international working class and its political vanguard—the Communist and Workers' parties—approached the eighties with confidence. They approached them as active fighters for the rights of the working people, and for peace and the security of nations.
"The communist movement continued to expand its ranks, and to win increasing influence among the masses. Today, Communist parties are active in 94 countries."

(From the CPSU Central Committee's Report delivered by Leonid Brezhnev to the Party's 26th Congress)

Members of delegations of Communist and Workers' parties invited to attend the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held 12 press conferences at the Press Centre on Zubovsky Boulevard. In addition to this, numerous exclusive interviews for the media took place in the lobby of the Press Centre. Guests from abroad shared their impressions of the Congress, spoke of the situation in their countries, and stated their views on the international problems of our time.

The Press Centre of the 26th CPSU Congress provided an open platform, as it were, to leaders of Communist and Workers' parties of the West, including those who, despite the loud declarations of the governments of their countries about "representative democracy" and "freedom of information", are virtually denied such platforms at home.

Thus, for the first time in its history, *The New York Times* had a long interview with Gus Hall, leader of US Communists, pre-

cisely here, in Moscow. Of course, this could have been done long ago at home, in New York. But, as we see, the respectable US newspaper had to send its correspondent on an intercontinental trip, covering thousands of miles, in order to "learn", at last, that there are not only capitalists, but also Communists, in the USA.

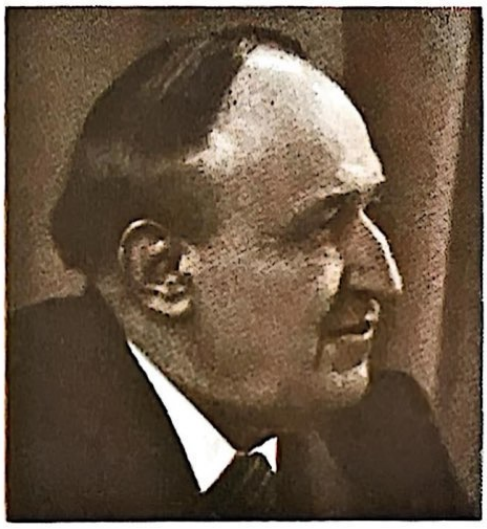
Exceptional interest among the newsmen was called forth by the speech of Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, made at the Press Centre. The hall was packed. Babrak Karmal gave a broad description of the situation in Afghanistan since the April Revolution, and spoke of the difficult conditions in which the people and the Party were waging a struggle for a better future, for a new life.

So many questions were put to him that Babrak Karmal remarked with a smile: "If you wish, I am ready to talk with you till the early hours of the morning..." The Afghan leader's press conference was the longest of all.

The press conference of Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, also attracted much attention both because of the high prestige of this prominent leader of the international Communist and working-class movement, and because of the fullness and clarity of his comments on the present world situation.

Todor Zhivkov: The Significance of the 26th CPSU Congress Is Great

For the international Communist and working-class movement, for all people with progressive views, the significance of the 26th CPSU Congress is great indeed. Todor



Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the State Council.

Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, told newsmen. The CPSU Congress is the supreme forum at which Communists assess the road covered, define the tasks for the future, and plan new targets in the struggle for peace and the happiness of people.

The delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Todor Zhivkov emphasised, highly values the CPSU Central Committee's Report delivered by Leonid Brezhnev, which contains an objective, scientifically-substantiated approach to today's problems, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and a thorough theoretical and political analysis of the activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state since the Party's 25th Congress, as well as of the current international situation.

One is strongly impressed by the fact, Todor Zhivkov pointed out, that, in considering the tasks of the further steady development of the national economy, the CPSU pays great attention to improving the Soviet people's well-being, to satisfying their material and cultural requirements. The 26th CPSU Congress has drawn up a comprehensive programme which gives a mighty impulse to the development of the country's productive forces and to the strengthening of the material and technical foundations of

socialism on the basis of the latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution.

The CPSU's congresses, Todor Zhivkov said, are of exceptional importance for the struggle for peace and the security of nations. At the dawn of Soviet power, Lenin put forward a concept of peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-political systems. Throughout its history the Soviet state has followed this principle as the basis of its foreign-policy line. It found expression in the Peace Programme adopted at the 24th Congress, which was unanimously supported by the other socialist countries.

The implementation of the Peace Programme, Todor Zhivkov went on to say, led to an easing of international tension in the early 1970s. This programme has now been further developed. The new peaceful initiatives advanced by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress will undoubtedly have a most favourable influence on the work of improving the international situation. They are important because they open up possibilities for a dialogue between the USSR and the USA.

Todor Zhivkov stressed the importance of the CPSU's role in the international Communist and working-class movement. Our ideological adversaries, he said, are trying to persuade the uninformed that the CPSU imposes its position on and gives instructions to other Communist parties. Such allegations have nothing in common with the real state of things. In the international Communist and working-class movement, the CPSU is an equal party among equals.

Under the CPSU's leadership the Great October Socialist Revolution triumphed, people's power was established on one-sixth of the globe, and a mighty socialist state has been built, a state which has abolished the exploitation of man by man. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union led the Soviet people's victorious struggle against fascism. It is hard to imagine what the world would have been like if the "brown plague" had not been routed at the price of the lives of 20 million Soviet people and the tremendous material losses sustained by the USSR. This,

Todor Zhivkov declared, explains the great importance of the CPSU both in the sphere of theory and in the sphere of practice of communist construction, and the important role it plays in the international communist and working-class movement. It is not at all a matter of the CPSU "leading" other communist parties; the point is that the decisions of Soviet communists serve as guidelines for all Marxist-Leninist Communist parties of the world.

In conclusion, Todor Zhivkov spoke about Bulgaria's achievements in the field of socio-economic development, which inspire one with optimism.

In reply to questions put by newsmen, the General Secretary of the BCP Central Committee rebuffed the fabrications of imperialist propaganda about alleged complicity of the USSR and other socialist countries in "international terrorism". Our parties, the socialist states, he said, are opposed to all forms of terrorism. Terrorism is absolutely alien to socialism. It is also necessary to point out that the revolutionary movement of peoples fighting for their freedom, independence and national rights has nothing in common with terrorism. Terrorism thrives precisely in Western countries.

A question was put to Todor Zhivkov about the existence of different trends within the international Communist and working-class movement. Though differences between some Communist parties do exist, he said, we do not dramatise them. The international Communist and working-class movement is a mighty force; it is a vast movement, and it is only natural that different views should emerge within it. For overcoming differences there is no better approach than to "check one's watch" with the CPSU from time to time, and to "check one's watch" with its 26th Congress now.

A Greek correspondent: "*What influence do you think the latest Soviet foreign policy initiatives would have on the situation in the Balkans?*

"It will, no doubt, be a most favourable influence," Todor Zhivkov replied. "The Balkan Peninsula is not an

isolated region, and the situation there is linked with the situation in Europe as a whole and with the general situation taking shape in the world. Therefore, the proposals Leonid Brezhnev has put forward for improving the international situation give new impulses both to detente and to an improvement of the situation in the Balkans."

Asked to comment on the conflict between Iran and Iraq, Todor Zhivkov expressed his concern over the war between the two countries. "The present conflict," he said, "does not correspond to the interests of either the Iraqi or the Iranian people, and we would like to see an end to this war. The people of Iraq and Iran as well as all the forces working for peace in this region and in the rest of the world would only gain from this."

Babrak Karmal: The Afghan People Are Building a New Life

Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister.

"It has been a great honour for us to attend the 26th Congress of the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union as representatives of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, a party of workers and peasants and the

entire working people of our country," said Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee.

"At present Afghanistan is in an important stage of its history—a stage of transition to a new life the foundation of which was laid by the victory of the April Revolution nearly three years ago.

"There was a time when colonialism determined the destinies of the whole world, including the destinies of our region and of our country. The Afghan working people still feel some of the effects of that policy of colonialism and imperialism which held Afghanistan under its heel throughout the 19th century and in the first two decades of the 20th century. During this period the Afghans had risen three times to fight imperialism in what had been a murderous struggle. Unfortunately, the nations bound by the chains of colonialism had to fight against heavy odds.

"That lasted until the October Revolution which shook the whole world. In 1919 Afghanistan won its political independence in a battle against British imperialism. Free and independent relations were established between the newborn Soviet republic and Afghanistan on the initiative of the great Lenin. A Soviet-Afghan treaty, on equal terms, was signed in 1921. I want the whole world to know that our friendship has been rock-firm ever since.

"However, the forces of reaction, first representing British imperialists and Hitler's fascists, and then US imperialists, have never desisted from their attempts to deprive Afghanistan of its freedom and independence and to hinder the country's development. Soviet-Afghan friendship has become a guarantee of Afghanistan's freedom and independence, and all the sinister plans of imperialism against us are doomed to failure.

"When Afghanistan's freedom-loving forces first tried to put the country on a path of progressive development, imperialism, and above all US imperialism, did all it could to hinder our advance. But finally, in 1978, the April revolution was accomplished, a revolution waged in accordance with the will of the Afghan people and led by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in alliance with all

national and progressive forces. It overthrew the reactionary, feudal and semi-feudal government that was dependent on imperialism, and the rule of the working people was proclaimed in the country for the first time.

"The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party, has abolished all peasant debts during this brief space of time. Over 800,000 hectares of land were distributed among more than 300,000 landless and land-poor peasants. Thus a start was made towards carrying out an agrarian reform, one of the basic democratic changes. More than 800 schools were opened in the first few months following the revolution. A large-scale drive to eradicate illiteracy got under way in a land where over 80 per cent of the population could not read or write. A peasants' cooperative movement emerged. Revolutionary Afghanistan entered a new stage of its development.

"However, the forces of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction, acting as a united front, came out against Afghanistan's progressive and revolutionary course and started subversive activity against our country, using their agents inside the government machinery and the Party," the PDPA leader went on to say. "Certain mistakes were made in the course of carrying changes in the country because of subjective factors and the young age of the revolution, our state and Party. Counter-revolutionary forces took advantage of this. The enemies of the Afghan revolution—the Washington-Peking-Islamabad triangle—drew up a plan for an undeclared war against Afghanistan.

"I must remind you," Babrak Karmal said, "that before the April Revolution over two million of our unemployed fellow-countrymen had to go to neighbouring countries in search of work. I must also remind you that Afghanistan was a feudal and even a pre-feudal nation with some vestiges of tribal relations. About two million nomads roamed from Afghanistan to Pakistan all the time, and some still do so. Some reactionary and counter-revolutionary elements associated with our country's feudal past, as well as representatives of some families who traditionally had connec-

tions with imperialism, above all with British imperialism, have also left the country.

Counter-revolutionary bands of mercenaries were formed in the territory of Pakistan with the support of reactionary quarters in the United States, Pakistan and China and with the help of petrodollars provided by reactionary Arab regimes. Scores of thousands of armed mercenaries, trained by US, Chinese, Pakistani and Egyptian instructors, have been smuggled into our country. Afghanistan is faced with an undeclared war against it.

"In Iran, formerly the policeman of the region, a country ruled by Shah Reza Pahlavi with the backing of US imperialism, an Islamic revolution had taken place. It was then that the Carter doctrine was proclaimed the aim of which was to weave a web of conspiracies in our region, in the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea. The United States intensified its instigative activities in an attempt to suppress both the Iranian revolution and the Afghan revolution.

"The legitimate Afghan government turned to the Soviet Union 14 times in the course of 1979, under the terms of the 1978 treaty between the USSR and the DRA, and asked for limited aid to repulse aggression," Babrak Karmal pointed out. "However, the Soviet Union believed at the time that the DRA would be able to cope with its problems on its own. But when there was a real danger of Afghanistan losing its freedom and independence, when Washington, Peking and Islamabad had drawn up a plan to divide the country, and when the danger of a regional war loomed large, the Soviet Union rendered Afghanistan limited military assistance.

"With the help of the Soviet Union, which was given on the basis of the Soviet-Afghan treaty and which was in keeping with Article 51 of the UN Charter, the gains of the April Revolution as well as our country's freedom and independence were saved," Babrak Karmal emphasised.

"At this moment a broad-based National Fatherland Front, a union of all of the country's national, democratic and patriotic forces, is being set up. Many public organisations have been formed, including trade unions with a

membership of 160,000, peasants' cooperatives with a membership of about 190,000, the Democratic Youth Organisation of Afghanistan, the Democratic Organisation of Afghan Women, the DRA Union of Journalists, the DRA Union of Art Workers, the DRA Union of Writers and other professional associations, the Ulema Council of Afghanistan and tribal councils.

"Our revolution pursues a national-democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist line. The Revolutionary Council has ratified the 'Basic Principles of the DRA', an interim constitution, drawn up with due regard for the nation's traditions and customs.

"By this time all large bands smuggled into our country, mostly from Pakistan, have been smashed. But interference in our internal affairs in the form of smuggling in bands of assassins continues. The bandits are wantonly destroying mosques, schools, bridges and roads, burning down crops, killing women and children. These bands are acting under the patronage of the reactionary quarters of the US, Pakistan, Egypt and China.

"The Afghan people," Babrak Karmal said in conclusion, "are rallying around the National Fatherland Front with a feeling of revolutionary optimism, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and, with the assistance of friendly nations, above all, the Soviet Union, are building a new life, a new, democratic society."

Then the leader of Democratic Afghanistan answered many questions put to him by newsmen. Here are just a few of these questions and answers.

A PTI correspondent (India) recalling that the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference in New Delhi had in fact called for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan so that a political settlement could be reached, asked about the prospects for a dialogue on this issue. What could the refusal of Iran to enter into negotiations with the Afghan government lead to?

"Our positions as regards relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan and between Afghanistan and Iran were officially stated in the DRA government's proposals of May

1980. Without any preconditions and in the absence of foreign interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, the DRA government is prepared to start negotiations with the authorities of Pakistan and Iran separately at any moment and resolve all problems between us on the basis of the principles of peace and friendship. As to the limited contingent of Soviet troops, I declare once again quite frankly that this limited contingent of Soviet troops will go home as soon as the aggression and foreign interference in our internal affairs stop and proper guarantees are given."

A Czechoslovak TV correspondent: *The initiatives and proposals put forward by Afghanistan last summer aimed at normalising relations with Pakistan and Iran are widely known. How do you assess these relations today?*

"It is quite natural for any country that has carried out a revolution to have enemies right away. Unfortunately, there is some lack of understanding even among friends sometimes. As to the peoples of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran, these are brotherly and friendly nations. It is the unbending will of the peoples of Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan that there should be friendship between our countries. It is my firm conviction that all instigatory acts by reaction, imperialism and hegemonism with a view to sowing discord between the people of our countries are doomed to failure. Fraternal and friendly relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran are bound to be established."

An American CBS Television correspondent asked what could be done in the situation that would arise if all the refugees were to return home from Pakistan.

"Of the Afghans now living in Pakistan some are ready to come back home right now," said Babrak Karmal. "We keep our arms open to those who want to return. On the other hand, there are camps in the territory of Pakistan where the mercenaries smuggled into our country are trained and equipped. Pakistan does not have as many refugees as it claims to have. They are mostly nomads who move between our two countries and the government of Pakistan is now preventing them by force from moving into Afghanistan. For centuries such nomads have gone to Pakistan in winter

and returned to our country later. So one may say that for one or two million nomads both countries are their native land."

Asked about the establishment of the National Fatherland Front, Babrak Karmal said the first conference of all the national, democratic forces to discuss the question of setting up such a Front met not long ago in Kabul. A large preparatory commission has since been formed, comprising Party members as well as non-party representatives of various community organisations. Its task is to prepare for and hold the constituent congress of the National Fatherland Front. The Revolutionary Council and the government are part of this Front simply because they comprise both party members and non-party people. The National Fatherland Front of the DRA will include politicians, representatives of trade unions of workers, peasants, artisans and artisan apprentices, peasant cooperatives, various organisations of intellectuals, democratic organisations of women and young people, the association of the national bourgeoisie and tradesmen, the Supreme Council of Ulemas and the Clergy, tribal councils and all ethnic communities of Afghanistan and other political and community organisations. Anyone and any political or community organisation accepting the platform and programme of the national democratic revolution is free to join the Front.

Correspondents of the "Haravghi" newspaper (Cyprus) and of CBS Television (US) asked Babrak Karmal about the attitude of the Afghan population towards the Soviet military contingent.

"I have already said in my opening statement that Afghanistan has been and still is facing an undeclared war," Babrak Karmal declared. "There are, for instance, seven or eight bandit training bases in the Chinese province of Xinjiang. In Pakistan there are a total of 65-70 bases and camps training armed mercenaries. Sadat, who has accepted the Camp David collusion with Zionism and American imperialism, is on his own admission training such mercenaries in his country. The surviving SAVAK agents as well as the followers of Shah Pahlavi have set up several bases to

train bandits in Iranian territory with assistance from US imperialism. The mercenaries smuggled into our country are killing children, women and old folk, setting ripe crops on fire, blowing up bridges and schools and terrorising civilians. That is the answer to the question why Soviet troops have been invited into Afghanistan. They have been invited to beat back the aggression from outside. Doesn't human reason, conscience and dignity lead you to expect that the Afghan people have been welcoming the Soviet fighting men as brothers and friends? We have known the Soviet Union for many years. The Afghan people are a very grateful people, and they know very well who are their friends and who are their enemies."

One of the journalists asked Babrak Karmal to comment on the prospects of an election in Afghanistan.

"Preparations for a free democratic election are now being made in accordance with the 'Basic Principles of the DRA', our interim constitution," he said. "The founding of the National Fatherland Front is one of the elements of preparation for this election."

"The present government," he added, "has been established by the will of the people in accordance with democratic principles and so it is quite a legitimate one and representative of its people."

"*What can you say about the alleged acts of 'cruelty' by Soviet soldiers against the Afghan population and about the rumours concerning the use of napalm?*" asked the Bulgarian *Zemedelsko Zname* correspondent.

"This is a lie spread by the propaganda machine of imperialism," said Babrak Karmal. "Our people say that a thief will cry 'Stop thief' louder than anybody else. The acts of barbarism committed by imperialism in Chile and other countries of Latin America, as well as in Vietnam or Korea, are known to everybody. Who can believe that the Soviet Union, a peaceloving socialist nation, will commit acts of savagery in Afghanistan?"

A French television correspondent asked Babrak Karmal to comment on the proposal by French President Giscard

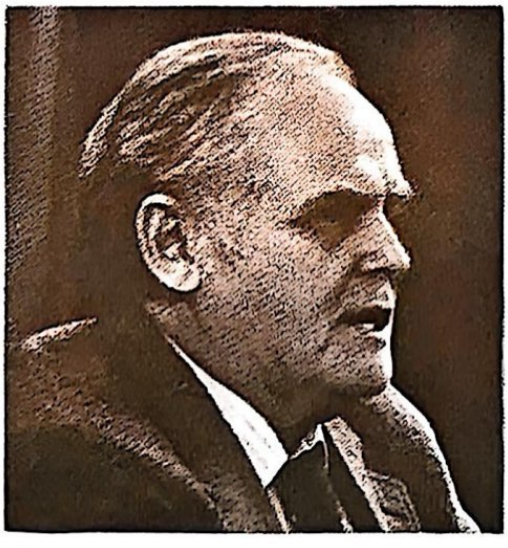
d'Estaing for the holding of an international conference on Afghanistan.

"I think that the President of the French Republic is a realistically thinking person and that he has good intentions," declared Babrak Karmal. "And I hope that he will not increase our diffieulties. In principle we have said and say that we reject any attempts to give an international colouring to the internal affairs of Afghanistan. We reject and will never recognize any proposals that fail to respect the will of the Afghan people."

An APN correspondent asked Babrak Karmal to comment on discord among the leaders of anti-Afghan counter-revolutionary emigrant groups, their mutual charges of corruption, misappropriation of funds and so on.

"The money which the West, as well as countries having petrodollars, are providing ostensibly to aid the refugees is being appropriated by Pakistan," said Karmal. "Part of the funds is shared among the tools of reaction and imperialism, the people who pose as liberators, and they squabble over who gets more and who gets less. While those who really need help, for example, the nomads who are now being detained in Pakistan, receive nothing."

Gus Hall: The Road to Peace and Detente Is Open



Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States.

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the US, highly esteemed the new Soviet foreign policy initiatives announced at the 26th Congress of the CPSU. Leonid Brezhnev in his report, he said, opens the way for continuing the process of peace and detente. Among the ideas put forward at the congress the proposal to start a continuous process of summit meetings between the Soviet Union and the United States, like the meetings between the USSR and France and between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany, is of exceptional importance.

All the proposals of Leonid Brezhnev are firmly rooted in the realities of international developments, he stressed. Their essence is that no one in the world must seek military superiority, parity must be preserved.

The Soviet initiatives are an important new contribution to the cause of peace and cooperation among the nations. They develop and supplement the basic principles of the USSR's foreign policy. Gus Hall stressed that the peoples of the world wait for a positive response by Western countries, above all the US, to these proposals.

We now have the opportunity, he said further, to draw a clear comparison between the diametrically opposite approaches to solving domestic problems taken by the two different socio-economic systems—capitalism and socialism. Thus, the recent report of US President Ronald Reagan to Congress was frankly based on the conception of the arms race and further cuts in the living standards of the American people. By contrast Leonid Brezhnev's report to the 26th Congress of the CPSU emphasises the general line in domestic policy of the Party and the Soviet government—care for improving the well-being of the Soviet people, for their peaceful future.

A "Daily World" (US) correspondent asked Gus Hall if he had found anything in Leonid Brezhnev's report that posed a threat to the American people.

No, the report contains absolutely nothing that might threaten the United States, replied Gus Hall. Take a pair of compasses and mentally draw a large circle with its centre in Moscow. Then a circle of the same radius with its centre in

Washington. On the imaginary boundaries of the first circle there are hundreds of American war bases. And how many Soviet bases encircle the US? Not a single one. So who threatens whom?

A correspondent of the Bulgarian newspaper "Otechestven Front" asked Gus Hall to express his attitude to America's playing of the "China card".

It is, of course, regrettable that China, which carried out a revolution and was building socialism, is now an instrument directed against the socialist community and against the movement of national liberation, said Gus Hall. This, I repeat, is regrettable, but it is a fact. US imperialism has always tried to use China for its own ends. Now it is no longer satisfied with, so to speak, "equal" relations with Peking; it wants to establish domination over the latter and in many cases it has already achieved success. For example, American banks have a great financial influence in China, and the US and China are undertaking joint intelligence activities.

A correspondent of an Iraqi newspaper asked Gus Hall to comment on Washington's statement that the Persian Gulf area is a "sphere of vital US interests".

This is a typically imperialist term, declared Gus Hall. Now "vital US interests" already embrace not only the entire capitalist world and many developing countries, but even some socialist states. Imperialism's aggressive essence is invariable, it seeks to extend its influence as wide as possible. Herein lies the meaning of the talk about "vital interests".

Gus Hall also answered a question put by an APN correspondent about the attempts of the US government to equate national-liberation movements with international terrorism. These attempts, declared the leader of the American Communists, aim to prepare public opinion both within the US and outside it for increased interference by US imperialism in various parts of the world, including Africa and Central America, and above all in such countries as El Salvador and Nicaragua. By starting a "campaign against international terrorism" the US is trying to create for itself

conditions in which it can advance without meeting any resistance.

A correspondent of the Soviet newspaper "Selskaya Zhizn" asked Gus Hall to give an assessment of the embargo imposed by the US on grain supplies to the Soviet Union.

The embargo boomeranged against American farmers, so the negative consequences of this action told on the US, not on the USSR. During the election campaign Reagan promised to repeal the embargo in order to win farmers' votes. Now he is hesitant. But I think that sooner or later he will have to fulfill this pledge.

How do you assess the fact that American propaganda talks about democracy while a government of millionaires holds power in the US?—asked a correspondent of the Bulgarian newspaper *Zemedelsko Zname*.

Really, in the US one has to be almost a millionaire to have a chance to be elected to the Senate or the Presidency, replied Gus Hall. This is a reflection of the control Big Business exercises over the two-party system. I think that in many respects the electoral system in the US is the most undemocratic in the world. In America there exists a kind of "closed democracy", that is to say, a democracy for the top of the two parties and for Big Business.

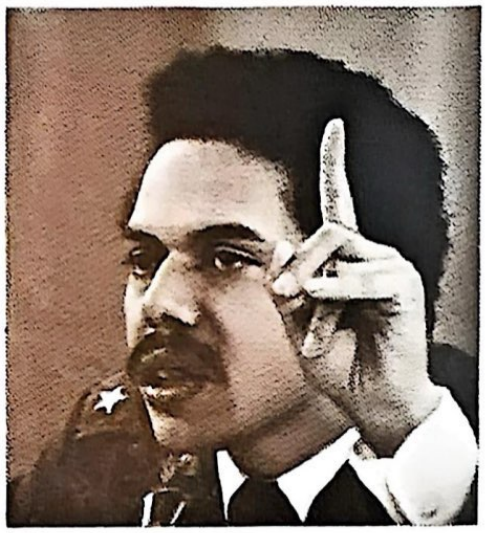
Can you say how many active members there are of the Communist Party of the US?—asked a correspondent of the *Algerie Press Service* (Algeria).

Though there is no law in America prohibiting membership of the Communist Party, this does not mean that we are fully legal. For sixty years now American Communists have been fighting for their rights and on many occasions appealing to courts of various instances. For example, in Texas there is an old law envisaging death penalty for membership of the Communist Party. This law, naturally, is not now applied, but it exists, nonetheless. In the US a teacher, say, cannot openly declare that he is a member of the Communist Party. Nevertheless there are hundreds of thousands of people in the country who support the Party, cooperate with it and are sympathetic to its policy.

A correspondent of the Greek newspaper "Rizospastis" asked how US progressive forces and public opinion are reacting to the increased influence of reactionary circles in Washington's policy.

"The reaction can be but one—to fight," said Gus Hall. McCarthyism in the US disappeared not of its own accord. It disappeared because broad democratic sections came out against it. The same thing, I think, can and must happen again.

Carlos Nunez: We Can Learn a Lot From the USSR



Carlos Nunez Tellez, Member of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and President of the State Council of Nicaragua.

Carlos Nunez, member of the National Leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and President of the State Council of the Republic of Nicaragua, noted the great international significance of the 26th Congress of the CPSU and the importance of the proposals contained in Leonid Brezhnev's report. Attending the Congress we had the opportunity to acquaint ourselves with the valuable experience amassed by the Soviet Union in various fields of life, he said. This experience concerns the solution of the complex social and economic problems of building a new

society, the methods and forms of planning and an ability to assess achievements in a spirit of criticism and selfcriticism.

The leader of the Nicaraguan delegation noted the realistic approach of the Soviet Union to the settlement of urgent world issues. The main theme of the report of Leonid Brezhnev is a desire for peace, he continued. The people of Nicaragua, knowing very well how horrible war is and how disastrous its consequences are, fully support the stand of the USSR on this question. It appears to us to be especially important that the Soviet Union is calling for arms limitation precisely now, when the world is experiencing a very tense moment in its history. The USSR's policy meets the interests of all mankind because all the peoples of the world sincerely wish to live in peace.

Carlos Nunez also touched on a number of questions relating to the internal situation in his country. He described the difficult problems the new Nicaragua had inherited from the overthrown dictatorial regime. At the time of the victory of the revolution 60 per cent of the population could neither read nor write, infant mortality was 130 per 1,000, 80 per cent of all dwellings lacked elementary amenities. During the war for liberation 50,000 people were killed and about 160,000 wounded, and nearly 40,000 children were orphaned. The country's economy was in an extremely bad state.

At present the Nicaraguan people are solving two vitally important tasks, the head of the SNLF delegation went on to note. The first is the achievement of economic stability for increasing public welfare, the other—the defence of the country.

The Nicaraguan revolution has brought joy to the people, but it has evoked fury and hatred among its enemies. The Chairman of the State Council of Nicaragua denounced the intrigues of external aggressive forces trying to exert pressure on his country and undermine its international prestige. In Western Europe and Latin America US emissaries are busy trying to make world opinion believe that Nicaragua is allegedly "interfering" in the affairs of El Salvador. Simultaneously every incitement and encourage-

ment is given to Somoza bands operating on the borders of Nicaragua; acts of terrorism and economic sabotage are being carried out; and US naval manoeuvres are being conducted off the country's coasts. The United States is also seeking to put pressure on Nicaragua, using the food problem as an instrument.

Journalists asked Carlos Nunez about progress in building a new life in the country.

"Despite the difficulties," he said, "the Nicaraguan revolution has already made significant headway in solving its social and economic problems. Confiscation of the property owned by Somoza and his accomplices has provided a basis for a public sector in the economy; the banks and foreign trade have been nationalised. Free medical care and education have been introduced. On the agenda are measures to step up production. This is necessary in order to increase exports which provide the country with its currency earnings and the population with employment. Economic growth will help to make it possible to tackle more successfully the questions of the health services, social maintenance and public education. Nicaragua is set on making further economic and social progress."

"How would you describe the attitude taken by the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie towards the Sandinist revolution?" Carlos Nunez was asked.

"We are witnessing two opposite kinds of bourgeois attitude to the revolution," he pointed out. "Some of those who formerly were in a privileged position in society have accepted the revolution as an obvious reality and had taken a patriotic stand. They have been given an opportunity to take part in the country's rehabilitation and they will find their place in the new Nicaragua. Others have taken an extremely reactionary stand, they are plotting conspiracies and organising armed actions against the revolution. They declare that there is no democracy in the country. Our point of view is clear-cut: every one may offer criticisms, but no one has a right to fight the revolution arms in hand. Those who take up arms against the revolution will be smashed by the revolution."

"What kind of relations would Nicaragua like to have with the United States?"

"We would like to maintain normal relations with the US, relations based on the principle of mutual respect," he said. "We had hoped that the United States would help to restore Nicaragua. We see, however, that the opposite is taking place: the US is increasing its pressure on us, in the financial field too. And nevertheless our stand remains the same: we are prepared to base our relations with the US on the principles of peace, respect of national sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs. The Nicaraguan people want peace and are building their new life for the sake of peace."

Replying to a question about Nicaragua's attitude to events in neighbouring El Salvador Carlos Nunez refuted US propaganda claims that his country was supplying the Salvadoran insurgents with arms. But at the same time he stressed that the Nicaraguan people sided with the democrats of El Salvador. The conflict in that country must be resolved by the sides themselves, without any outside interference, he added.

Xuan Thuy: We Fully and Entirely Support the Soviet Communist Party's Policy

Xuan Thuy, Secretary of the Central Committee, of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

Xuan Thuy, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, described the Report of the CPSU Central Committee as an outstanding document which contains an all-round analysis of questions relating both to the domestic development of the Soviet Union and the international situation as a whole. The report, he said, was a true manifesto of peace demonstrating in a vivid way the profound, principled nature and flexibility of the CPSU's foreign-policy course.

We approve and welcome the proposals made by Leonid Brezhnev at the Congress, because it is our belief that only through negotiations and by peaceful means is it possible and necessary to bar the road to war, to resolve all conflicts and contradictions, stressed the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

He noted that the proposals made recently at a conference in Hochiminh City by the Foreign Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea were in the same spirit, in the spirit of peace. The conference participants, it will be recalled, came up with peaceful initiatives for a dialogue between the three Indochina countries, on the one hand, and ASEAN member-states, on the other. This constructive step is aimed at stabilising the situation in South-East Asia and at securing peace and good-neighbourly relations between the region's countries. The participants also went on record in favour of bilateral treaties on peaceful coexistence between the Indochina countries and the People's Republic of China. Xuan Thuy expressed heartfelt gratitude to the CPSU and the Soviet government for supporting these peaceful initiatives and categorically rejected the fabrications of Washington and Peking, both of which are striving to misrepresent these constructive proposals by Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, as well as the true nature of relations between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the USSR.

Describing relations between the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples, Xuan Thuy quoted Le Duan, General Secretary of

the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam: "It is the invariable course of our Party and the state to follow the Leninist line, to rally together with the Soviet Union and cooperate with it in every field."

We fully and entirely support the CPSU's policy, Xuan Thuy pointed out. The decisions of the 26th Congress no doubt mark a new step taken by the country of the October Revolution towards Communism and will have a great impact on the destinies of the peoples of the world.

What are the problems now facing the south of your country and what is being done to heal the wounds inflicted by the US aggressors? This question was put to Xuan Thuy by a correspondent of *Sovietskaya Rossiya* (USSR).

"In South Vietnam, all exploitation of man by man was abolished as soon as it was completely liberated and took the socialist path," said Xuan Thuy. "In the Mekong delta, for example, most peasants are already members of one or another kind of cooperative. But the process is not an easy one and in other parts of the south a considerable proportion of the peasantry is still engaged in individual farming. Last year's rice crop in the Mekong delta was quite good, and this greatly improved the situation of the peasants. Great cultural reforms have been carried out in the south, especially as regards the abolition of illiteracy, with many new educational establishments being opened there.

"We still have many problems connected with wiping out the effects of the war and natural disasters and also problems caused by the aggressive policies of the Peking hegemony-seekers and expansionists," Xuan Thuy went on to say. "It is the firm belief of the Vietnamese people that these are temporary problems and that they will be successfully coped with under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam."

"The acts of aggression by the United States and by China have left many invalids and orphans in Vietnam. How does the state look after them?" This question was put to Xuan Thuy by a correspondent of the Czechoslovak magazine *Svet Socializmu.*

"This is the concern of a special ministry for the affairs of the disabled and social welfare, jointly with the Patriotic Front of Vietnam, which embraces various public bodies—the trade unions, youth and women's organisations," said Xuan Thuy. "There is a wide network of schools established in the country to teach orphans, as well as boarding houses for invalids. Many specialised workshops and small enterprises have been created for the disabled."

A correspondent of the Bulgarian newspaper "Otechestven Front" asked Xuan Thuy to evaluate China's expansionist plans with regard to Asia.

"China became a great feudal state a long time ago and committed acts of aggression against its neighbours on many occasions," said the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam. "And on more than one occasion, incidentally, it suffered defeat. When the Communist Party came to power in China we Vietnamese Communists decided that the Chinese people, led by the Communist Party of China, would work peacefully and become our good neighbour and that we would together fight against imperialism and jointly build socialism. We also trusted and hoped that China would become the closest and devoted friend of the Soviet Union. But something unexpected happened. The Peking leaders embarked upon the road of betrayal, on a counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist path. They came to regard South-East Asia as their own domain, considering the capture of that region as their first step towards achieving their expansionist designs on a global scale.

"Vietnam has become one of the serious obstacles to Peking's aspirations. That is why Peking so hates our country."

"Is there any difference in Chinese policy towards Vietnam during Mao's lifetime and now?" asked a correspondent of the Czechoslovak newspaper *Mlada Fronta.*

"Both under Mao and with today's rulers," replied Xuan Thuy, "the policy of China is a policy of expansionism and hegemonism. Some changes have been in evidence in China

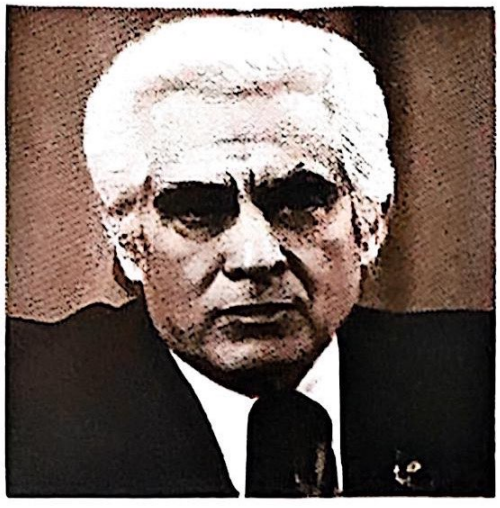
of late, it is true. Seeing them, certain people are inclined to think the very core of Maoism is undergoing a change. But that is not so. Maoism remains what it was."

A correspondent of the Press Trust of India asked about the current situation on the Vietnamese-Chinese border.

"After the Chinese aggression against Vietnam failed, Peking had to withdraw its troops from our territory," noted Xuan Thuy. "But the Peking leaders continue to maintain a considerable troop contingent near the Vietnamese frontier—some fifteen divisions, plus four special corps, with the number of army units in districts bordering on Vietnam growing all the time. The Chinese shell Vietnamese territory every day, killing peaceful civilians and doing material damage to the country.

"Subversive groups are being constantly sent into Vietnam to carry out acts of sabotage," Xuan Thuy continued. "They kill activists, herd peasants into China and drive livestock across the border. Of course, the population in the frontier provinces gives a fitting rebuff to the provocateurs. Peking is threatening another aggressive war against our people. But we are firmly convinced that should China start a fresh military venture, it will meet with a new defeat."

Alvaro Cunhal: In the Interests of All Nations



Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Portugal.

The report of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee is permeated with concern for world peace, said Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party. The constructive proposals formulated in it meet the vital interests of all nations and are designed to solve the urgent problems of our time.

Portugal is a member of NATO. The United States is seeking to use Portugal's strategic location for its militarist purposes. Since the present foreign policy of the country's government does not correspond to the main provisions of the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, which say that this policy should rest on relations of friendship and co-operation with all countries, the Portuguese people's concern is well founded. This is particularly so in the light of attempts by the imperialist forces to take the world back to the cold war era, to create new sources of international tension, escalate the arms race and also deploy weapons of great destructive capacity on the territory of countries which have never had such weapons before. In this connection Portuguese Communists believe that the present situation in the world demands, as never before, rapprochement, mutual understanding and unity of action by all those who want to safeguard the democracy, freedom and national independence of their countries, and also peace all over the world.

"Are the new Soviet peace initiatives a concession to the Reagan administration which has taken a tough position?" one of the journalists asked Alvaro Cunhal.

"The proposals made in the report of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee are part of the traditional policy of peace pursued by the USSR in the international arena," said the Portuguese Communist Party leader. "The new Soviet proposals are a logical continuation of previous foreign policy initiatives. At the same time they take into account new factors and new conditions in the world, particularly the current escalation of the arms race. In this situation the Soviet Union's readiness to resume a dialogue with the United States is of great importance."

Alvaro Cunhal was asked several questions about the situation in Portugal. Answering them, he said that

Portuguese Communists were waging a struggle in defence of the agrarian reform and other gains of the April 1974 revolution. He also said that the Party had won increased authority among the masses, particularly among young people. Alvaro Cunhal emphasised that the dominant trend was in support of the current Constitution.

The Portuguese Communist Party leader pointed to the vital need for unity of all Left forces, particularly the Socialists and the Communists, to ensure Portugal's democratic development. The Portuguese Communist Party constantly advocates mutual understanding and concerted action by these two leading opposition parties. This, however, does not prevent Communists from criticising the policy of rapprochement with the Right-wing forces, which is being pursued by the leadership of the Socialist Party.

Asked to spell out the Portuguese Communist Party's position on whether or not Portugal should join the Common Market, Alvaro Cunhal said: "We Portuguese Communists are against Portugal's joining the Common Market and we have sound reasons for this. On the one hand, the differences in the level of economic development would make Portuguese products unable to compete successfully with the products of other Common Market countries. On the other hand, Portugal's entry into the Common Market would create conditions for the restoration in the country of the monopoly groups abolished after the April 1974 revolution, on the pretext of 'evening out structures'. There are very few industries in the Portuguese economy which would benefit from integration with the EEC. Participation in the Common Market would lead to a collapse of industry and agriculture, particularly small and medium-size enterprises which have a great role to play in the Portuguese economy. Now that a profound crisis has affected a number of key industries in the EEC countries, Portuguese Communists and even those who at first had advocated Portugal's entry into the Common Market are now coming to realise the damage this would do to Portugal's national interests."

Replying to questions about relations between the

Communist Parties of the capitalist countries, the Portuguese Communist Party's General Secretary said that each Communist Party, taking into account the situation in its country, must decide itself what forms and methods best suit the struggle for the common Communist cause of abolishing capitalist exploitation. It is only natural therefore that Communist Parties may hold different views and employ different tactics, taking into account the situation in each particular country.

Dealing with the policy pursued by the Portuguese Communist Party, Alvaro Cunhal said that Portuguese Communists did not share some of the ideas advocated by some Communist Parties in European capitalist countries. Alvaro Cunhal said the Portuguese Communist Party had differences of opinion with Spanish and Italian Communists on a number of problems related to the revolutionary process and the working class movement. Imperialism takes advantage of these differences, which are in the course of nature, it uses them for its propaganda and seeks to divide the Communist and working-class movement.

Alvaro Cunhal said the Portuguese Communist Party is a patriotic and internationalist party. It maintains sincere relations of friendship with all fraternal parties, including the Soviet Communist Party.

Jesus Faria: Unbreakable Ties of Friendship and Solidarity

Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Venezuela, said that his delegation was pleased to perform the mission entrusted to it—to represent Venezuelan Communists at the congress of the party founded by Lenin, a party with which they have firm and unbreakable ties of friendship and solidarity. The 26th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, he went on, is an event of great international significance, which will contribute to the strengthening of world peace.

Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Venezuela.

The head of the Venezuelan Communist Party delegation focused attention on the Soviet Union's economic and social development plan for 1981-1985 and for the period up to 1990. It is an ambitious programme, he said. Its main objective is further to raise the standard of living of the Soviet people and to improve people's conditions of work and life. Jesus Faria emphasised that this is an excellent example of invaluable importance for working people in the capitalist countries, who can make comparisons and draw conclusions and decide which of the two systems best meets their interests.

In his address and in replies to correspondents' questions the Venezuelan Communist Party leader dealt with a number of international issues of current interest. He said the capitalist world had launched a massive campaign against detente. The forces which organise this campaign are trying to use it as a way out of the deep economic crisis in the capitalist countries, which is accompanied by growing unemployment, a rising cost of living and a recession in production, which may lead to the serious sharpening of social conflicts.

The Soviet Union is being accused of supporting "international terrorism," Jesus Faria continued. "Support for terrorism" is deliberately confused with the internationalist solidarity of the Soviet Union with the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence. The Venezuelans, who fought for their liberation with the help of other peoples and themselves gave assistance to other Latin American peoples

in their struggle for liberation, regard these charges as ludicrous. No one has ever thought of calling Simon Bolivar, the hero of the struggle for the independence of Latin American countries, a terrorist.

The General Secretary of the Communist Party of Venezuela voiced support for the liberation struggle being waged by the people of El Salvador.

As for us Venezuelan Communists, Social Democrats and representatives of other progressive and liberal political denominations, we always express solidarity with our Salvadoran brothers, as well as with the fraternal people of Nicaragua and other fraternal Latin American peoples, said Jesus Faria. This solidarity is growing ever broader.

Answering a journalist who asked Jesus Faria for his view of the Chinese leadership's stand on national liberation movements, he condemned the policy being pursued by Peking. It is impossible to understand how after the assassination of Salvador Allende, the legitimate Chilean President, China can strengthen its ties with the junta which seized power in that country. Peking's course is arousing the indignation of all honest people in Latin America.

Herbert Mies: The West Must Respond to the USSR's Peaceful Initiatives

Herbert Mies, Chairman of the German Communist Party.

Herbert Mies, Chairman of the German Communist Party, noted the great importance and topicality of the proposals contained in the report of the CPSU Central Committee which are designed to consolidate peace, further detente and expand confidence-building measures. The 26th Congress of the CPSU has shown that the Soviet Union will continue following its policy of peace, he said. In his report Leonid Brezhnev vividly pointed to the threat to peace today and clearly determined the direction of the struggle for peace in the 1980s.

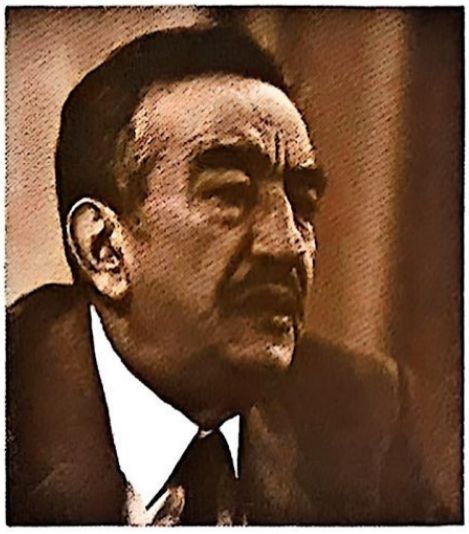
Leonid Brezhnev's proposal of a moratorium on the deployment in Europe of new medium-range nuclear missiles simultaneously with the beginning of East-West negotiations on this question is of major importance for West Germany, Herbert Mies stressed. This proposal points a way out of the blind alley which has emerged as a consequence of the "completive armament" decision adopted by NATO in December 1979. After the West German government's rejection of the Soviet offer of negotiations first at the end of 1979 and then in 1980, the new Soviet initiatives open up a fresh chance and it will be extremely unwise to miss it. The West must end its policy of delays and seize the opportunities opened up by the Soviet initiatives, he went on.

Leonid Brezhnev, Herbert Mies stressed, made his proposals in a calm and constrained tone. It would be a mistake, however, to regard this restraint as fear of the West and a concession to military blackmail. The Soviet Union's tranquillity is the confidence of a force which can protect the gains of detente. Not only Communists and Democrats but all who cherish peace can rely on this force.

The Chairman of the German Communist Party spoke of the contribution West German Communists were making to the struggle for the consolidation of international peace and their active participation in the movement against fascism and neo-nazism, for social rights and democratic transformation in West Germany. The question of war and peace has always been of extreme importance for the working-class movement in our country, he stressed. We

German Communists see our chief task to lie in the struggle for peace and the prevention of the danger of a war which could start on German soil. Herbert Mies answered questions from journalists about the situation in West Germany. Among other things he condemned the decision to include a map of Germany with its 1937 frontiers in geography books used at scholls, describing it as a manifestation of revanchist tendencies in the country's social and political life.

Khaled Bagdash: Soviet Achievements Are a Gain for All Progressive Forces on Earth



Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Syria.

Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party, thanked the Soviet Communist Party and the entire Soviet people for their consistent, effective and unselfish support for Arab progressive forces in their struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, for the establishment of an equitable peace in the Middle East.

Mankind seeks to preserve peace and to remove the threat of a nuclear war. The Soviet Union is the leading force in the struggle for peace. The stronger the Soviet state, the surer is universal peace, he stressed.

Touching upon several international issues, the leader of the Syrian Communists dwelt in particular on so-called "international terrorism" in the context of recent statements made about it by American official spokesmen. President Reagan's comparison of the national liberation movement to "international terrorism" is an insult to the national dignity of the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples who are fighting for complete independence and social justice. The development of the national liberation movement has been predetermined by the entire course of development of human civilization. It is an irreversible process which President Reagan will never be able to halt. It is the forces of national liberation which have always fought and continue to fight against imperialist terror aimed at retaining peoples striving for their national and social liberation in the chains of dependence and fear.

It is equally absurd to claim, as the leaders of the American administration do, that the national liberation movement is guided by "the hand of Moscow", Khaled Bagdash went on. Suffice it to say that the national liberation movement, in particular, in Arab countries, began long before the emergence of the Soviet state.

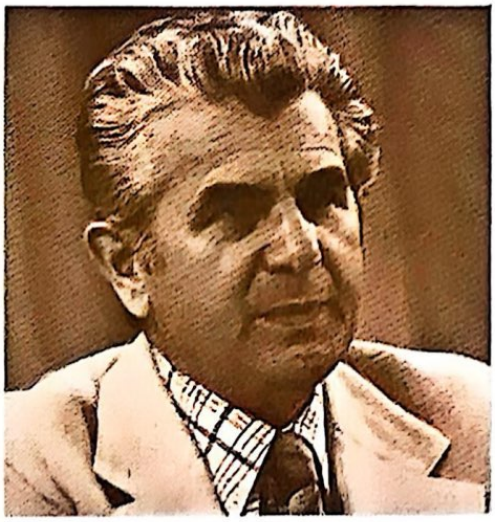
The peoples of Arab countries, he went on, do not believe the myth about a "Soviet military threat". They very well realise where the true threat to their independence and territorial integrity comes from. Its source is the chain of American military bases in our region. In spite of the fact that the US-Iranian hostage crisis has been resolved, the US continues to build up its military presence in our part of the globe, thereby confirming its aggressive aspirations.

As Khaled Bagdash stressed, the progressive forces of Arab countries welcome with satisfaction the Soviet peace initiatives aimed at consolidating peace and security in the Persian Gulf region.

Speaking of the Middle East conflict, the leader of the Syrian Communists stressed that a settlement of the problem could not be facilitated either by the Camp David deal which had run into an impasse, or by other "compromises". The

establishment of peace in the Middle East, he went on, is only possible on condition that all the occupied Arab territories are freed and the people of Palestine are granted the right to self-determination and to the creation of an independent state.

Athos Fava: The Future Belongs to Socialism



Athos Fava, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina.

It goes without saying that the 26th Congress of the CPSU is an event of historic significance, Athos Fava, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina, told journalists. This is because it takes place at a time which is of exceptional importance for the destinies of our planet. We witness the activities of the present US administration which pose a serious threat to peace and its utter contempt for such a precious thing as human life, on the one hand, and the responsible and carefully balanced attitude of the Soviet Union and its respect for the ideals of humanism, on the other.

We cannot but highly appreciate the tranquillity and firmness of the CPSU, its striving to protect peace and international security, and its constant concern for the wellbeing of the Soviet people. The 24th Congress of the CPSU, which I was privileged to attend, proclaimed a Peace Programme. In the years that followed the Soviet Union has

been true to that programme, with each Soviet citizen working for its implementation.

The targets set in the Soviet plans for 1981-1985 and for the period ending in 1990 are grandiose, said Athos Fava. We have already grown accustomed to the fact that the Soviet Union draws up its fantastic plans on the basis of reality. The plans for peaceful construction proclaimed by the USSR inspire all revolutionaries in Latin America. They again demonstrate the firm confidence of the USSR that the future belongs to socialism and to the forces of progress.

We are sure that the USSR will carry out its spectacular plans.

A correspondent asked Athos Fava to comment on Washington's allegations about Cuba's interference in the affairs of El Salvador.

The heroic and righteous struggle waged by the people of El Salvador gives the lie to such allegations, said the leader of the Argentine Communists. "What is the aim of the United States in peddling such allegations?" he asked. The United States wants Latin America to remain the "backyard" of US imperialism. However, an end has long been put to such a situation. Latin America is no longer what it used to be. Today it can successfully counter the North American colossus.

As for interference, this is being committed by the United States. Washington is acting like a burglar who, while breaking into his neighbour's home, shouts: "Stop thief!"

Athos Fava was asked to evaluate Peking's foreign policy, specifically its attitude to Latin American countries.

Argentine Communists, he said, see that Peking's unprincipled policy expresses the unrestrained chauvinism and growing hegemonistic claims of the Chinese bosses. Like any unprincipled policy which exposes itself sooner or later, Peking's policy has now fully revealed its counter-revolutionary essence.

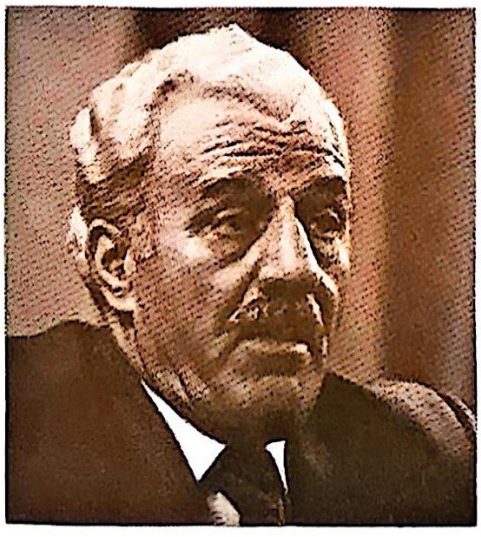
At one time Peking managed to create pro-Maoist groups in Latin America. Many of them have disintegrated and others are on the verge of collapse. This is understandable, because even the most skilful acrobat will not be

able to copy Peking's continuously changing stunts. Quite recently the Chinese leadership called Washington "a paper tiger". Then Peking threw itself into Washington's arms. That is why the pro-Peking groups in Latin America are utterly disoriented and are suffering one setback after another.

The peoples of Latin America have seen through the counterrevolutionary character of the actions of Peking which is trying to capitalise on any political change in order to penetrate the countries of our continent and pursue its chauvinistic policy there. In particular, Peking's support for Chilean dictator Pinochet gives rise to anger and indignation.

China's policy in Latin America has never had, nor will it have a future. But we should not sit and wait. We must expose the provocative policy of Peking.

Replying to a question about "Eurocommunism", Athos Fava said that the Communists have common principles determined by Marxist-Leninist theory. I believe that theories about Latin American, European or Asian Communism have no future. Communist teaching is single and indivisible and, as I have said, its application depends on the specific features of a country. These specific features are determined by historical traditions, the domestic situation and the international stand of a particular country. I think "Eurocommunism" has no future.



Harilaos Florakis, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece.

Harilaos Florakis: Struggle for Detente Is Inseparable from Struggle for National Independence

The struggle for peace and detente is inseparable from the Greek people's struggle for national independence and economic development in the interests of the majority of the people, said Harilaos Florakis, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece.

Our presence at the 26th CPSU Congress in Moscow is not a formal discharge of a duty or commitment. It is proof of the profound interest shown by the Greek people as a whole in the activities of the Soviet Communist Party. This interest is explained by the fact that, while the capitalist countries are experiencing an acute crisis, the agenda of the CPSU Congress includes questions relating to further economic progress and the growth of the Soviet people's well-being. Vital questions, particularly, the stepping up of the struggle for peace, detente and disarmament, are being discussed in Moscow. This is of the prime importance for all nations because the aggressive policy of the imperialist forces, eager to reverse detente, is endangering peace.

The aggressive policy of the United States also adversely affects Greece, Harilaos Florakis continued. Yielding to pressure from Washington, the Greek ruling circles have returned Greece to membership of the NATO military organisation. At present imperialist forces are working to revise the status of US bases in Greece, so that the sphere of their action may extend beyond NATO's geographical boundaries and cover the Middle East, specifically the Persian Gulf. There is evidence that nuclear weapons are stationed at these bases.

Where imperialist forces fail to attain their aims directly, they work through the Common Market. Participation in the Common Market is leading Greece to lose not only its political sovereignty, but also its economic independence. Living standards are declining and inflation is mounting.

That is why the anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly

movement is growing in Greece. A recent public opinion poll in the EEC countries has shown that anti-American sentiments are particularly strong in Greece. Seventy per cent of the population are against Greece's participation in NATO. The strike movement is mounting. Two million workers went on strike last year. Ever more resolute calls are heard for radical changes in the foreign and domestic policy of Greece.

Replying to a question about the attitude of the Communist Party of Greece to the Cyprus problem, Harilaos Florakis said that Communists firmly stand for its solution on the basis of UN resolutions, for the unity, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus, for a settlement which would meet the interests of both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. He stressed that the problems of Cyprus should be settled without outside interference. In this connection he expressed himself in favour of closing all foreign military bases on the island and for the withdrawal of all foreign troops. He emphasized that the USSR's position on this question accords with the national interests of the Cypriots.

Gilberto Vieira: The Most Precious Experience of Our Time

Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Colombia.

Our presence at the Congress, said Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Colombian Communist Party, is an act of solidarity with the policy of the Soviet state, a policy of peace and detente. We have an excellent opportunity to acquaint ourselves with the experience of building developed socialism, which is the most precious experience of our time, with the tremendous plans of Soviet social and economic development. I must stress that this is a programme of constructive work. The main aim of the new Soviet plan is to increase general well-being.

What particularly attracts our attention is the fact that the Soviet Union is free from the inflation typical of capitalism. In the past five years inflation in Colombia has been growing by an average of 25 per cent a year, leading to the relative and absolute impoverishment of the people.

We realise that building socialism is not an easy matter. We know that the USSR has its difficulties and problems. That is why we follow with great interest the way in which Congress delegates are discussing economic and planning problems. There is no doubt that this discussion will yield valuable experience for other countries.

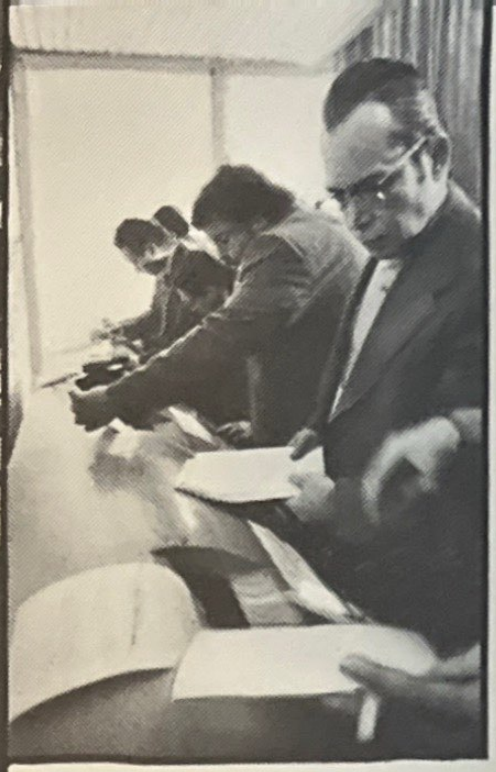
Also of interest to us is the aspect of the Soviet social and economic programme dealing with the USSR's cooperation with the developing countries. I can assure you that the Colombian people are sincerely interested in expanding relations with the Soviet Union.

In reply to a correspondent's request for his estimation of the new US administration's "doctrine of struggle against international terrorism", Gilberto Vieira said the doctrine is just another US attack on the sovereign rights of other nations. The Colombian people clearly see that the doctrine means even more open US support for terrorist dictatorships everywhere in the world, particularly in Latin America. Haig speaks about terrorism for obviously propaganda aims. He pretends to aim at terrorism while shooting at the national liberation movements. It is well known that world Communists are against terrorism as a matter of principle.

This is not a tactic of the day, but an unswerving stand they take. Washington's propaganda campaign is doomed to failure.

A correspondent asked Gilberto Vieira to express his views as regards US threats against Cuba. The reply to US threats, he said, was given by the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, which clearly stated that the Cuban people are closely following imperialist intrigues and are ready to rebuff them. These are not just words. Since its Party Congress Cuba has started forming militia units so that the army and armed people can give a fitting rebuff to the aggressor. Any aggression against Cuba will mean aggression against Latin America as a whole. It would not be the first time in history that the peoples of Latin America and of the whole world have shown solidarity with Cuba.

Gilberto Vieira also answered a question from a correspondent of the EFE News Agency of Spain about his attitude to "Eurocommunism." Every Communist Party is independent and it shapes its policy by itself, he said. One Communist Party may not interfere in the affairs of another Communist Party. I personally think, however, that "Eurocommunism" does not exist as a trend. Speaking frankly, without beating about the bush, I think "Eurocommunism" is a myth which is going out of fashion.



The press centre helped to acquaint the world with the new Soviet peace initiatives. All aspects of Soviet foreign policy were thoroughly explained to journalists during the daily briefing sessions.

TO SAFEGUARD AND STRENGTHEN PEACE

"To safeguard peace—no task is more important now on the international plane for our Party, for our people and, for that matter, for all the peoples of the world."

(Leonid Brezhnev, Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress)

During the eight days of the 26th CPSU Congress the world certainly did not become completely different from what it had been, but during those eight days it regained hope.

This hope was instilled by the broad and specific programme for the consolidation of peace and security and for radical improvement of the international political climate, set out in Leonid Brezhnev's report.

On the eve of the Congress there was conjecture in the West as to how Moscow would respond to the general worsening of the international situation and to Washington's vehemence. Would not the Soviet side yield to the temptation to respond to threats with threats and to flex its muscles in reply to the show of strength?

Those who predicted a hardening of Moscow's line deeply erred. The Soviet Union displayed wisdom and responsibility for the destinies of peace and proposed a resumption of the discontinued dialogue, moving away from the dangerous brink.

The new Soviet peace initiatives embrace all crucial problems on the resolution of which mankind's future, if not its very life, depends. They concern expansion of the zone for confidence-building measures in the military sphere, the USSR's preparedness to discuss questions relating to Afghanistan (the international aspects of the Afghan problem), including their discussion together with the questions of Persian Gulf security, and continuation of negotiations with the United States on the limitation and reduction of strategic armaments, on the limitation of weapons of any kind. The Soviet Union suggests reaching agreement on placing a moratorium on the deployment in Europe of new medium-range nuclear missile weapons by the NATO countries and the Soviet Union, that is to say, freezing the existing quantitative and qualitative level of these weapons; setting up a competent international committee to demonstrate the vital necessity of preventing a nuclear catastrophe, and calling a special session of the UN Security Council with top-level participation of its member-states in order to look for ways of improving the international situation.

The new Soviet peace initiatives have evoked a wide international response. To a certain degree this is linked with the hard work done by the press centre of the Congress. During the daily briefings, of which ten all told were held, the leaders of the press centre calmly, convincingly and patiently explained in detail the meaning and nature of the new Soviet peace initiatives to those who doubted or did not understand them.

This chapter naturally contains only some of the questions and answers which show how the crucial international issues of the early 1980s were handled at the meetings with world press representatives.

Invitation to Constructive Dialogue

It is generally acknowledged that the international situation largely depends on the policies of the Soviet Union

and the United States. The state of relations between them now and the acuteness of the international problems which require resolution necessitate a dialogue, and an active one, at all levels. The Soviet Union is prepared for such a dialogue, the 26th CPSU Congress stressed.

A correspondent of the newspaper *Pravda* (USSR): *How do you assess the West's reaction to the peace initiatives advanced by Leonid Brezhnev in his report?*

Leonid Zamyatin: These proposals are being thoroughly analysed and discussed in the ruling circles of many states and governments. They are regarded as a comprehensive plan of peace aimed at searching for a collective settlement of the outstanding international issues of the present day.

The question of continuing the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States, or to be more exact, since there is a new administration in the US, the question of resuming the dialogue on the cardinal problems on which our points of view do not coincide is being discussed in a positive spirit.

I can say with confidence that a vast majority of the leaders of states are for such a dialogue. All hold the view that a dialogue between the USSR and the US must take place.

A BBC correspondent (Great Britain) remarked that if a summit meeting were not thoroughly prepared and failed, we might all find ourselves in an even worse position than now.

Leonid Zamyatin: I agree that it is certainly better to hold a well-prepared meeting. Nobody objects to that. But preparations for the meeting must not be supplanted by setting all kinds of preliminary conditions for the Soviet Union, as some US Senators would like to do. This must be clearly understood by our partners in the talks.

The experience of summit meetings shows that when a dialogue between the heads of state or government is prepared, a fixed agenda is not worked out in advance. It is the right of every statesman to raise the questions which he deems it necessary to submit for discussion with the other side. There have been many meetings at summit level—

between West and East, East and East, West and West, but nobody ever set any preliminary conditions for the other side. The meetings only benefited from this.

The BBC correspondent asked about the Soviet leadership's attitude to the statement Mrs. Thatcher made on her visit to the United States.

Leonid Zamyatin: I was surprised to read Mrs. Thatcher's statement about the necessity to establish military equilibrium between East and West and to ensure that it be preserved. Equilibrium between the forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation exists. To assure herself of this, it would have been enough for Mrs. Thatcher to approach the Institute for Strategic Studies in London which is not far from Downing Street. On the basis of an all-round consideration of all the aspects of the problem, a report prepared by this Institute concludes that an approximate balance of forces does exist between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO. Our experts hold the same view.

According to Mrs. Thatcher, the West's military power is an indispensable condition for holding negotiations with us. Nobody is depriving the West of its military power. Mrs. Thatcher goes on to say that Europe's security is inseparable from US security, that these are two pillars of the alliance. Well, it is a good thing if peace rests on two pillars. But if such pillars are placed on a heap of armaments, peace becomes rather unstable.

History shows that each new upward spiral of the arms race only reduces the level of the national security of countries. The weapons which have been stockpiled in the world allow us to destroy each other many times over.

But is that what we exist on earth for? Is this the road along which we should seek to solve outstanding issues? No, it is not. The Soviet Union is deeply convinced that it is necessary to conduct a dialogue aimed at reducing armaments, at limiting the most dangerous types of weaponry—the strategic arms of the "European theatre of war", or as they are also called, Eurostrategic weapons. To sum up, it is necessary to hold a dialogue on the key problems which have

already emerged and which are well-known to the USSR, the US and European countries.

In our opinion, international relations should be developed exactly in this direction. The existence of two opposite social and political systems on our planet is an objective reality, no matter whether one likes this or not. Hence, through joint efforts one must seek mutually acceptable decisions limiting the arms race, which has reached dangerous proportions and which may get out of control. This is one of the basic ideas of the Soviet proposals tabled by the 26th Congress of our Party.

A correspondent of "The New York Times" asked whether Mr. Brezhnev's statement about negotiations on reduction of strategic weapons meant that the Soviet Union was prepared to discuss this problem widely without insisting on ratification of the SALT-2 Treaty by the US Senate.

Leonid Zamyatin: It is wrong interpretation of what was said in the report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Congress of the Party.

The correspondent then asked when the US might give an official reply to the proposal for a summit meeting.

Vadim Zagladin: It is hard to speak for the Government of the United States, because it is up to it to reply. Evidently, there will be some further discussion through diplomatic channels on all the proposals that have been put forward. Yet a statement has already been made to the effect that the United States and her allies will take from six to eight months to work out their common position.

We realise that the matter has to be thought over. Without thinking it over, one can do nothing but spoil or damage it. But, on the other hand, time is passing so fast that it may well run out. The development of military technology, the creation of new types of weaponry and the aggravation of conflicts do not leave much time for slow and long reflection. We are ready for a dialogue even at this point and we are prepared to act quickly, because the main thing is to prevent the current conflicts from escalating into far more tragic situations.

Leonid Zamyatin: We have made an official offer to the United States. We consider it politically useful and necessary. The situation is so dramatic and complicated that there has to be a dialogue now.

No problems can be resolved through a build-up of power. Nor can they be resolved through intimidation, the inflation of military budgets or the creation of new types of weapons. Whatever declarations may be made in the West, the actual course of life will make people sit down to negotiations, discuss peace proposals and seek positive solutions to these problems.

The correspondent asked for comment on statements in the Western media that Leonid Brezhnev's peace plan was a concession to the Reagan Administration's hard political line.

Vadim Zagladin: If you compare our latest proposals with what was said at previous Party Congresses, you will see that the Soviet Union is consistently elaborating positions it set out before. The report said that the new Peace Programme is a logical sequel and follow-up to the programmes of the two previous Congresses. If we are continuing our line, how can one talk of yielding to anybody's pressure?

The sole concern behind all our proposals is to prevent war and to strengthen peace. Can proposals of this kind ever be regarded as concessions? No, they cannot.

Naturally, we take into account the positions and opinions expressed in the West, both in government circles and by members of the public. That has always been a feature of our policies. We are seeking mutually acceptable solutions. One must listen to and heed what the other side is saying. And whatever is acceptable and responds to the principles of identical security and equality of the parties concerned can and must be viewed in a positive sense.

Unfortunately we do not always see the other side adopting such an approach. Some say the Soviet proposals are nothing but propaganda and are not serious. I want to

state absolutely firmly and clearly that these are very serious proposals. We are prepared to discuss them. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR and other appropriate bodies have already started a constructive discussion of the proposals put forward at the 26th CPSU Congress.

USSR-US: Things Must Be Seen As They Are

The range of questions raised at the Press Centre of the 26th CPSU Congress was not confined to briefings and press conferences. Journalists had an opportunity of getting detailed and authoritative interviews. One such interview was granted by Leonid Zamyatin, Head of the International Information Department of the CPSU Central Committee, to the correspondent of ABC Television (US), Peter Jennings. *

The ABC correspondent asked a question about L. I. Brezhnev's proposals on the Soviet-American dialogue, and on summits. Events in El Salvador and "arms deliveries" to it were also touched upon.

A.: You know, the proposal on a dialogue between leaders of our countries is a very important question. Experience shows that each meeting brought great results. It seems to me that L. I. Brezhnev's proposal means that we have reached a stage when it is necessary to reduce the tension that exists now in our relations. The state of relations between the USSR and the US at present and the acuteness of the international problems requiring a solution, in our opinion, necessitate a dialogue, and an active dialogue, at all levels. We are prepared for this dialogue, said L. I. Brezhnev at the Congress. Experience shows that the crucial factor here is meetings at summit level. This was true yesterday and remains true today.

We noted the reaction in Washington to our proposal.

* The text of this interview was published in the newspaper *Moscow News*.

Now you are raising a question which has nothing to do with the subject in question. Some people in the United States claim that the Soviet Union delivers arms to El Salvador. I should stress that the Soviet Union has not delivered and is not delivering any arms to El Salvador. In El Salvador there are no Soviet soldiers, no Soviet advisers. But there are American advisers and American armaments there which are utilized by the military and civil junta in its struggle against the population of the country. As a matter of fact, there is a struggle waged by the military-civil junta against the population of El Salvador.

Q.: *There is some lack of clarity in the US as to whether or not the Soviet Union continues to insist on SALT-2's ratification in the US Senate as a precondition to further discussion of reducing nuclear weapons.*

A.: Our position here is that we consider it possible to hold negotiations on the limitation of strategic armaments. However, we would not like to participate in such negotiations which would destroy everything positive reached with great pains in elaborating SALT-2. We have believed and continue to believe that this agreement proceeds from a clearcut concept which was agreed upon both by the USSR and the USA. Its essence is that any agreement on SALT should be based on the principle of equality and equal security. We think that this agreement, which it took seven years to reach, is based exactly on this principle. Surely, we could also propose some amendments which probably would not be acceptable to the United States. If the United States starts undermining this agreement, it may undermine the whole system of strategic arms limitation. That is why we would like to preserve the system of strategic arms limitation talks which is already in existence in the form of SALT-1 as well as SALT-2.

The ABC correspondent said, however, that the US Senate is not ratifying the SALT-2 Treaty.

A.: We think that the Treaty is in the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union. I happened to hear in the US Senate that this agreement gives unilateral advantages to the Soviet Union. It's an erroneous interpret-

ation, and your military experts are well aware of this. If it were the case, your experts would have never given their consent to the SALT-2 Treaty. I was present at the talks when the SALT-2 agreement was being prepared. Each clause was thoroughly considered and discussed, and only after this each side gave its agreement. It took seven years.

There were different incidents. When in Vladivostok this agreement was under consideration and one question emerged relating to the limitation of the number of certain strategic missiles, your President Ford (also a Republican, by the way) and his adviser Mr. Kissinger went outside, when it was 20 degrees below zero, to consult each other secretly whether the proposed formula was acceptable or not, although our premises were not wired, as was the case in the White House before. I give you this example to illustrate the point that each question was discussed behind closed doors by both sides and all pros and cons were considered.

Q.: I would like to move on to the question of medium-range nuclear weapons. Mr. Brezhnev suggested that the level of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe be frozen. In the context of anxiety in Europe and the US with regard to the deployment of Soviet SS-20 missiles what do you think the American response to Mr. Brezhnev's proposal should be?

A.: You are posing questions in such a way that I have to respond on behalf of the United States. I want to clarify our own position.

You are aware that we proposed to hold negotiations on medium-range missiles in Europe. And they started. We believe that the question of limiting such armaments should be considered simultaneously and in organic interconnection with the US forward-based means which are deployed in Europe. Why so? Because the United States now has in Europe more than 1,000 weapons which are considered to be forward-based. Proceeding from the principle of equal security, we have to face this fact and take into account the balance of forces as it is now in Europe. To make a move forward we are proposing to establish a moratorium on the

deployment in Europe of new nuclear medium-range missiles both on the NATO side and the Soviet side, that is to freeze qualitatively and quantitatively the existing level of such weapons. It goes without saying that it includes the forward-based weapons.

The ABC correspondent noted that there is a very strong perception in the United States that when the Soviet Union is ahead on something it wants a freeze and when it is behind, it wants parity.

A.: This is wrong. This rather resembles the Dulles formula. As far as I remember, he said: everything which is ours, the United States', is American, everything which is yours, the Soviet, should be a subject for discussion. This is not our attitude to the US position. We think that in Europe there exists a balance of forces. Of course, in certain types of weapons the Soviet Union may be ahead of the United States. In other types of weapons the United States is ahead of the Soviet Union. But as a whole, this is an approximately equal balance.

I know one argument, which is given in the US press, that the Soviet Union has new SS-20 missiles which have allegedly tipped the balance of forces in favour of the Soviet Union. I consulted with our military. I should say that your military also know that SS-20 missiles were not added to those in our country's western part. They replaced the outdated ones. In other words, we did not increase the number of missiles in the western part of the Soviet Union. We replaced the obsolete missiles by new ones. There was a process of modernization. And you were engaged in such a process. For example, you have Phantom F-111 planes. They carry nuclear weapons to a distance of over 1,000 kilometres. You will soon exhaust all the letters of the Latin alphabet for designating the modernized types of these planes. So you were also engaged in modernization before we started this process. And if you deliver another 600 missiles, which would result in a buildup of the American nuclear potential in Western Europe, we will have to increase

the number of missiles, too. But what would be the result in the long run?

Before, you said that such missiles were needed for you to defend Western Europe from Soviet SS-20 missiles, because the level is lowered on the basis of the SALT-2 Treaty. Now the Treaty has not been ratified. As to the deployment of your Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles, this decision is still in force. But the Soviet-American negotiations on nuclear weapons in Europe are interrupted and the United States is not giving its consent to resuming them.

The next question was about Afghanistan, particularly about the possibility of discussing the question in the context of the Persian Gulf.

A.: There are two proposals. The first is the Afghan-sponsored proposal on bilateral negotiations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and Afghanistan and Iran. Now there is a new proposal by Leonid Brezhnev. We do not object to the questions related to Afghanistan being considered together with the questions of the security of the Persian Gulf on one condition—that such negotiations would not concern the internal structure of Afghanistan.

As to the Persian Gulf we are for turning this area into a zone of peace. We say that we have proposals directed towards making this area a zone of peace.

Q.: Are you referring to Mr. Brezhnev's proposals made in New Delhi?

A.: Yes indeed, I mean these proposals. But if you have counter-proposals, we are ready to discuss them. We have never submitted categoric proposals, we have never said that we submitted our proposals and let's discuss only these proposals and nothing else...

You are saying that the Persian Gulf is a zone of US interests. It is an interesting fact to note. The United States has a zone of interests. The distance from the Persian Gulf to New York is about 10,000 miles, and this is a zone of interests for the United States. And with Afghanistan we

have a common border, about 2,500 or 3,000 kilometres long. From the US point of view we cannot have a zone of interests here.

But we are prepared to discuss these problems, too, provided they are linked with the Persian Gulf or we may discuss them separately, the way the Afghan government proposes. You would say that there are Soviet troops in Afghanistan. An undeclared war against Afghanistan is waged from Pakistani territory. And who is sending arms to the rebels, you know better. Our troops would be withdrawn. But we have to resolve one question. The external intervention in Afghanistan should be halted. And here the United States can exert its own influence. If reasons disappear, consequences would disappear, too.

Q.: Secretary of State Haig has decided to go and make a tour of the Middle East and I wonder if you find anything untoward about this.

A.: I think that in the Middle East the Soviet Union and the United States have to seek out a common position on the basis of the proposals which were already submitted, and to take joint actions. If my memory serves me right, in October 1977 Gromyko and Vance reached an agreement about joint steps with respect to the settlement of the Middle East problem.

We have to go back to cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union. This is a complex area. The Middle East problem should be resolved with due account for the interests of all parties concerned, including the interests of the Arab people of Palestine and the interests of Israel.

Q.: It just became utterly clear in Moscow that the Soviet Union would like to have normal relations with the United States again...

A.: I would like to stress that the Soviet Union wants to have normal relations with the United States, wants to have a dialogue with the Unites States as our partner and not as our opponent. We want negotiations, not confrontation.

Where NATO's "Completive Armament" Policy Is Aimed

Western propaganda is widely spreading the concept of "two equilibriums": on the one hand, it recognizes parity in strategic offensive forces between the USSR and the US and, on the other hand, speaks of an "imbalance in the European theatre". From this the conclusion is drawn that global parity should be buttressed by "evening out" the imbalance through the creation of a "Eurostrategic" potential within NATO, or, in other words, through the "completive armament" of NATO.

What is the real position?

So far as parity in strategic forces is concerned, it has existed since the early seventies and is confirmed by the SALT-2 Treaty. But there also exists an approximate parity of forces in Europe. Otherwise—if there had been no regional balance—the SALT-2 Treaty would certainly not have been signed. Besides, leading figures in the new US administration have themselves quite recently again confirmed the existence of an approximate balance of forces in Europe. What are they disputing then?

A correspondent of the Polish newspaper "Trybuna Ludu": In a statement by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany it is asserted that the Soviet proposal for a moratorium on medium-range missiles represents a step backward as compared with previous proposals. Is this true?

Vadim Zagladin: No, it is not true. What is the Soviet Union proposing? That negotiations be started immediately and that, so soon as they start, a freeze be placed on all the programmes that envisage deployment of additional medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe or their qualitative improvement. In the course of the negotiations, naturally, discussion can embrace all aspects relating to the quantity and quality of nuclear arms that have already accumulated in the region.

This is precisely the new element which the FRG government statement overlooks or disregards. They talk only about the quantitative side of the question while we are suggesting a freeze not merely on the quantity of missiles, but also on their quality, on their further modernisation.

The statement also contained the incorrect assertion that the USSR is proposing a moratorium on medium-range missiles because of its superiority in SS-20 type missiles. But there is no such superiority. The Soviet Union has replaced the SS-4 and SS-5 missiles which have served their time with more modern ones. But in the process the number of launchers, as well as the destructive power of the nuclear charges of these missiles, has even been reduced.

The overall parity of nuclear armaments in Europe thus remains untouched if everything that must be taken into consideration is considered. Also unchanged is the fact that the SS-20, like their predecessors, cannot reach targets on the territory of the US and so do not alter the global balance of power, which is in accordance with the terms of the SALT-2 Treaty.

An analysis by the London Institute for Strategic Studies has confirmed that the Soviet Union, having placed SS-20 missiles in the West European part of its territory, has not quantitatively exceeded what it had previously. As I already said, there has even been a certain reduction in the number of missiles.

In a word, if we analyse all this, we shall arrive at the conclusion that an approximate parity of forces does exist in Europe. Why do I say "approximate"? Absolute parity cannot possibly be achieved because one country has one type of weapon while the other country—others. But specialists take into account the total number of these weapons and so draw their conclusions about parity.

We are ready to go even further. We are ready for both a quantitative and a qualitative freeze on the existing level of such systems, naturally including American forward-based nuclear arms. This moratorium could enter into force at once, as soon as negotiations on this question start. It must

operate until a permanent agreement on the limitation and, still better, reduction of such nuclear weapons in Europe is signed.

International Trade—a "Two-Way Street"

The Soviet Union has always thought and continues to think this is so. Mutually beneficial trade is an important factor for stabilising international relations. Economic ties, in particular, cannot and should not serve as a means of exerting political pressure.

An NBC correspondent asked whether the USSR was going to discuss US wheat supplies again in view of the fact that the agreement on US grain supplies to the Soviet Union expires this year.

Leonid Zamyatin: The Soviet Union is ready to discuss with the United States any question concerning our mutual relations, including trade contacts. If the United States prefers to negotiate grain deals separately, we are ready to do so.

We enter into trade relations not at all because we cannot ourselves produce what we are buying. It is just that we live in an age when international cooperation is needed by all states.

Let me cite the following example. Developing its space programme, the USSR launched *Soyuz* orbital ships and the Americans *Apollos*. We kept a great deal secret from each other. But when the scientists of our two countries began to prepare for the joint *Apollo-Soyuz* flight, it turned out that for many years we had followed the same paths in developing equipment. This made it possible to dock the two spaceships fairly easily. I am convinced that if from the outset we had tackled this problem together, on the basis of international cooperation, both we and the Americans would have expended less energy and funds on the exploration of space.

The same applies to trade. We can do everything on our own: our vast country has enormous resources. We cannot

be blocked. Trade is an omen of improvement in relations between countries. It is mutually advantageous—both to the United States and to us. Politicians must be realists and must understand this.

An APN correspondent: Under-Secretary of State Dyess at a meeting with American journalists asserted that responsibility for the reduction of trade ties between the Soviet Union and the US rested with the Soviet side. What can you say about this?

Leonid Zamyatin: Mr. Dyess reduces everything to the allegation that our trade and economic ties have been curtailed as a result of the Soviet "invasion" of Afghanistan.

Let us have a look at the development of Soviet-US trade relations since 1972, when a trade treaty was signed between our countries. Mr. Dyess should be familiar with the relevant facts because at that time, too, there was a Republican Administration. In 1974 the US Congress adopted the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which actually froze the treaty: the US has not ratified it even to this day.

To link trade with other problems, as Mr. Dyess does, essentially amounts to exerting political pressure and to striving to extort political concessions from the USSR. But this is a hopeless task. We have never traded on such terms and have no intention of doing so. Pursuing this policy, the US has for many years now been denying itself profitable markets and sources of the goods it needs. At the same time it is failing to achieve its aim of hurting the Soviet Union because we buy the goods we need from other countries.

The USSR and the Developing Countries: The Way Relations Shape Up

This question was raised more than once during briefings and was approached from different angles.

A Nigerian newspaper correspondent said that Western propaganda was persistently talking about Soviet military

expansion in third countries, about Soviet arms supplies to those areas and at the same time about Soviet aid to the developing countries being smaller in volume as compared with the aid given by the West. He asked to comment on this.

Vadim Zagladin: There is no Soviet military expansion there. We are giving aid, including military aid, to countries which ask us for it. But it is aid to sovereign states and not Soviet expansion. We have never maintained bases on the territory of those countries nor set up military outposts there. We help the peoples to defend what they have won.

Western propaganda is trying to make the public believe that our economic aid to the developing countries, taken as a percentage of our national income, is smaller than the aid given by the US and other Western countries.

This is also untrue. Among the developing countries receiving Soviet aid are a number of socialist countries, among them Cuba, Mongolia, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. The aggregate volume of our aid, including aid to those countries, exceeds US aid to the developing world.

Apart from this, our aid has one substantial distinctive feature: we are not investing capital in those countries and we do not charge interest on capital. We do not have any investments there. We are building industrial projects there to strengthen the economy of those countries. Our relations are based, of course, on the principle of mutual benefit. But, if there are any deviations from the prices, payments and interest rates of the world market, they are always in favour of the developing countries. The sole objective of our aid is to help them as much as possible in their development. That is why we first of all build power plants and light and heavy industrial enterprises there, and we also help set up modern farms and establish higher schools and other institutions for training national personnel.

This is what our aid is like and we are glad that our friends, as many guests from the developing countries confirmed at the Congress, are satisfied with this aid.

Differences Should Be No Obstacle to Joint Efforts

An NBC correspondent asked for comment on the speech by the leader of the Italian delegation, Gian Carlo Pajetta, and on unity, or lack of it, in the communist movement today.

Vadim Zagladin: As regards the contents of Comrade Pajetta's address, this was, of course, decided by the Italian Communist Party. As for our point of view, I think his address contained many points confirming unity between the Communists of Italy and other countries, including the USSR, on the problems of peace and security, on the need to settle the problems of the Near and Middle East above all by peaceful means, and so on.

Of course, we have certain differences of opinion with the Italian comrades. They were mentioned by Comrade Pajetta, nor have we ever made any secret of the fact. Leonid Brezhnev noted in his report that, in our view, this is quite natural. In the past, too, Communist Parties have had differences of opinion on certain problems. Practice has forcefully demonstrated that, even when there are differences, political cooperation in the struggle against the common class enemy can and must be developed. Comrade Pajetta also made this point in his address.

The correspondent asked why the Italian and Spanish Communist Parties had not sent top-level delegations to Moscow.

Vadim Zagladin: Comrades from those parties informed us that the situation which had taken shape there prevented the leaders of the Communist Parties, Comrades Santiago Carrillo and Enrico Berlinguer, from leaving their countries. They sent authoritative delegations and we are quite satisfied.

The correspondent asked why Leonid Brezhnev, in enumerating the parties with which the CPSU had quite friendly relations, had not included the Italian Communist Party among them. The Italian Communist Party had already

proposed a moratorium on medium-range missiles in Europe, a proposal now put forth by Leonid Brezhnev.

Vadim Zagladin: There are two questions here. The report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Congress reads: "We have good friendly relations with the vast majority of Communist Parties...," it mentions several examples and adds, "and other Communist Parties of Europe."

As for the proposed moratorium on medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe which was discussed at the Congress, the Italian Communist Party indeed forwarded a similar proposal in December 1979. We took a positive attitude to it, but, regrettably, no one in the West, not even the Italian government, showed the interest in it that it deserved.

A correspondent of the newspaper *Rizospastis* (Greece): *Could you give a general appraisal of the addresses of foreign guests to the Congress?*

Vadim Zagladin: All the guests who addressed the Congress spoke highly of the Soviet Union's role in peace efforts. All of them supported the Peace Programme put forward by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th Congress, the Programme which, as the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee has stressed, is an extension and development of the Peace Programme formulated by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses. The speakers emphasized their striving to strengthen and extend their relations with our Party and our country.

I would say that the most characteristic feature of the addresses delivered by the guests of the 26th CPSU Congress was their appeal to both Communists and non-Communists, revolutionaries and all democrats to safeguard and strengthen peace and to prevent another war. I think this accurately reflects the needs of the present-day world situation.

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The 26th CPSU Congress is over and its press centre has closed. For honest and unbiased journalists who feel a

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LA JEUNESSE SOVIÉTIQUE
UNION FRATERNAL
THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN SOVIET SOCIETY
HOW MANAGEMENT OF THE ECONOMY IS BEING IMPROVED
STOPPER LA COURSE AUX ARMEMENTS
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N.A.Tikhonov
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An important landmark in the life of the Soviet people, the 26th Congress of the CPSU was also an important international event. The new peace initiatives proposed at the Congress took the forces of world reaction by surprise and were hailed by the progressive public, by all people who hate to live under the threat of nuclear war. Many newspapers and magazines noted the Soviet Union's advances in all areas of social, economic and cultural life and in developing socialist democracy.

The documents and records of the 26th Congress of the CPSU have been published in the Soviet Union in 20 languages in editions running into millions.

responsibility for peace and wish to contribute to safeguarding and strengthening it their difficult and noble work never ends. The Peace Programme put forward by the Soviet Communists at their Congress serves the interests of all people in the world and it is very important that millions upon millions in all countries should learn the truth about it.

"To safeguard peace—no task is more important now on the international plane for our Party, for our people and, for that matter, for all the peoples of the world.

"By safeguarding peace we are working, not only for people who are living today, and not only for our children and grandchildren; we are working for the happiness of dozens of future generations."

These words and this firm belief expressed by the Soviet Communists' leader are shared by the entire Soviet people and by the overwhelming majority of the people of the world.

XXVI СЪЕЗД КПСС. ДИАЛОГИ В ПРЕСС-ЦЕНТРЕ
на английском языке
Цена 60 коп.

For over a fortnight during the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the Press Centre at 4 Zubovsky Boulevard in Moscow brought 1,006 journalists of 60 countries together to follow the Congress proceedings, meet delegates, ask questions, write their stories and relax.

Among them were newsmen representing the Soviet mass media, the Communist press abroad, leading news agencies, TV and radio broadcasting companies, and papers and magazines, ranging from liberal to conservative, from the non-socialist world. Reports about the work of the Congress were broadcast on TV to 80 countries.

This book is about the meetings at the Press Centre, about the additional information the newsmen received, the questions they asked and the answers to them.